

**Discourses of incapacity and emancipation: an autoethnographic
study of CPD courses delivered by Western educators in an
Ugandan context.**

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Chester for
the degree of Doctor of Education by Sharon Margaret Smith.

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Declaration:

The material being presented for examination is my own work and has not been submitted for an award of this or another HEI except in minor particulars which are explicitly noted in the body of the thesis. Where research pertaining to the thesis was undertaken collaboratively, the nature and extent of my individual contribution has been made explicit.

Signed: _____

Sharon Smith

Date: _____

Acknowledgements and Dedication

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my two thesis supervisors, Allan Owens and Chandrika Devarakonda, for their ongoing guidance and support throughout my Doctoral Thesis. I am grateful too to all of the teaching staff on the EdD programme for introducing me to so many new and exciting ways of seeing and being in the academic world and to the administrative staff who have always been on hand to offer help and assistance. I am indebted to The University of Chester for the freedom to explore to pursue my diverse research interests and the opportunity to take paths less trodden.

I would also like to thank LRTT for their permission to undertake research whilst affiliated with their organisation in Uganda. This research would not have been possible without the logistical and practical aid of the team leaders, drivers, hub staff and programme manager. I am grateful to the local Ugandan teachers, schools and students, as well as the other visiting teachers and researchers who all contributed to my experience and my thesis. I am grateful to my employer at Tute Education for facilitating the leave necessary to undertake this project.

I must also acknowledge the unwavering support of my husband and parents throughout the Doctoral programme, without whom it would not have been possible to undertake and complete my studies.

Dedication

For my wonderful family, as a contribution to the professional field I love and in fulfilment of a personal dream.

“Intellectual growth should commence at birth and cease only at death.”

— Albert Einstein

Abstract

This thesis examines the complex nature of teacher-led professional development delivered by Western teachers in a Non-Western context. I use an autoethnographic approach and employ a range of reflective and reflexive methods, such as visual images, journals, interviews and sketches to expose and explore the tensions experienced when engaging with CPD in a culture vastly different to my own and within a post-colonial context.

This thesis employs theories from Homi Bhabha to explore the key concepts of post-colonialism and decolonisation, Zygmunt Bauman to examine the concepts of community and identity, and Jacques Rancière and Etienne Wenger to explore theories of education and learning such as stultification and emancipation and communities of practice, all of which are pivotal in understanding the complexities and tensions of experience throughout this research.

I scrutinise moments of dis-ease, a term borrowed from Sweetman (2003, p.528), whereby the programme appears rooted in a form of neo-colonialism fuelled by globalised models of education that reinforces little more than a discourse of incapacity and a reiteration of a single story of African Otherness. Conversely, I also observe moments where there emerges a community of practice that offers an emancipatory model of education and offers participants the opportunity to reinscribe their identities as part of a global community.

I conclude that programmes such as this have the potential to be both positive and negative and that, unlike examples of voluntourism in which the participants serve to create and perpetuate deficit-models of colonialist thinking, there is a need to accept that participants engaging in professional discourse have the capacity to review and decide whether the positive impacts are valid and valued enough to make their pursuit worthwhile. It is critical to resist the urge to make a sweeping generalisation about CPD programmes in vastly different cultural contexts because too many variables exist to make such a broad stroke accurate, but there must be an onus on all involved to evaluate the ramifications of participation and to continue or desist in these programmes as is appropriate.

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Preface

This thesis is submitted as the final assessment component on the Doctor of Education Programme at The University of Chester. Prior to completion, six other Level 8 (40 CATs) modules were completed and these are detailed below.

Table 1: Previous modules

Module	Title	Wordcount
PR8005 Research Methodologies for Professional Enquiry	Component 1: A discussion of the philosophy and theory of selected methodological paradigms appropriate to a given research question (s) arising from practice.	4370 words
	Component 2: A research report on the application of a selected research methodology(ies) to a small-scale enquiry within a practice/professional setting.	4400 words
PR8006 Social Theory & Education: Key Issues and Debates	Component 1: A review essay based on selected readings in social theory (Jacques Rancière (1991) The Ignorant Schoolmaster).	3813 words
	Component 2: An essay to critically examine the significance of Jacques	3976 words

	Rancière (1991) The Ignorant Schoolmaster for understanding educational practice.	
PR8007 Creativity in Practice	<p>Practice-based research project: an allegorical children's book.</p> <p>Supporting reflective essay accompanying the practice-based research project.</p>	<p>Equivalent to 4000 words</p> <p>4293 words</p>
PR8008 Cultural Practices	A discussion of cultural practices and theories and their application to research in an online learning context.	8788 words
PR8002 Institutions, Discontinuities and Systems of Knowledge	Discontinuities in the institutions of mainstream secondary schooling and their ability to meet the diverse needs of their students.	8420 words
PR8001 Thesis in Context	Research Proposal: A study of teacher-led professional development in locations within the Bwindi region of Uganda; exploring staff, volunteer and school	9669 words

	perspectives of professional development programmes aiming to improve the quality of teaching and learning.	
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The data for this research thesis was collected during field work undertaken in Kanungu in the Bwindi region of Uganda in the summer of July 2017.

Ethics approval was sought from and granted by The University of Chester Faculty Research Ethics committee on 17/05/2017.

Permission was sought from and granted by LRTT (Limited Resource Teacher Training) 21/04/2017.

Copies of all participant information sheets, consent forms, reflexive journal entries, images and sketches and all other relevant evidence is available upon request.

Discourses of incapacity and emancipation: an autoethnographic study of CPD courses delivered by Western educators in a Ugandan context.

1.0 Introduction

This chapter seeks to outline the roots and motivations behind this thesis and to identify my own positionality as the researcher. It further explores the context in which the research took place, the previous areas of study undertaken during the Education Doctorate (EdD) and the discourses surrounding education at a global level that inspired this work. It explores the challenges of undertaking research of this nature and aims to give insight into how such challenges were negotiated before introducing the research questions of the study. Finally, it gives an overview of the subsequent sections within this thesis and signposts many of the key theories, theorists, concepts and terms utilised throughout.

1.1 Rationale and Positionality

This thesis is an autoethnographic study of the tensions that arise when engaging in teacher-led continuing professional development (CPD) in a post-colonial context and draws on my own experience of partaking in a programme of this nature whilst volunteering in the Bwindi region of Kanungu, in Southern Uganda in the summer of 2017.

Although my participation was not initially sought as a prospect to conduct research, it quickly became apparent that it presented an opportunity that would be both rich in the discovery of extensive data and unique insight into issues that were already of personal interest to me and a way to explore the tensions that arise in such situations. Aware of a trend whereby 'young people engaging in forms of travel that link touristic adventures with volunteering in contexts of poverty has become increasingly popular' (Friedus, 2017, p.1306) and the negative ramifications of some forms of voluntourism (Ahmed et al., 2017; Webber, 2017; Jakubiak, 2016), but also a strong advocate for peer learning and teacher led CPD as advocated by many professionals (Webb, 2018; Carmichael, 2017; Admiraal et al., 2016), this programme would enable me to be situated at the intersection of a collision of educational practice and cultural dissonance and to articulate how those participating might experience the complex tensions as a result.

I qualified as a teacher of English in 2006, having completed my BA Hons Degree in the previous academic year and whilst volunteering as a student associate in secondary schools in

the Greater Manchester area. I have since worked in two secondary school settings and, for the last four years, I have worked as an online teacher for an independent education organisation that delivers lessons across all compulsory school key stages to students both in and outside of mainstream education.

During my career as a secondary school teacher, I have been increasingly frustrated by what I can only describe as the one-size-fits-all model of mainstream education. As a result of the recent (2016) curriculum and examination reforms in the UK, pertaining to the Progress 8 and English Baccalaureate qualifications, I have felt that there has been an ever-narrowing focus on academic subjects and what constitutes student success. When I began this doctorate, I had envisioned writing my thesis on what happens to those students outside such a narrow focus and the impact of abjecting students if they do not fit into the one-size-fits-all model.

It may seem that this has little to do with teacher-led CPD in rural Uganda, however, when considering how and why such a programme exists, I began to see the parallels between a national system of education that marginalises those unable to access it and an international education system that marginalises those countries whose systems of education are unable to conform to it. This convergence of the two strands of my work, combined with the educational and cultural theoretical perspective to which I had been introduced and became inspired by during the Education Doctorate course gave rise to a new focus for my research that was further solidified by my field experience last year.

The national and global discourse surrounding education and what constitutes good, effective and high quality education has gained momentum as a result of globalisation (Ball, Goodson and Maguire, 2007; Ball, 2012a; Ball, 2012b; Dale and Robertson, 2009; Young, 2009) and there is a long-established correlation noted between education and economic, political and cultural development (Chabbott and Ramirez, 2000). Dominant ideologies surrounding the need for improved access to and enhanced delivery of education are informed and perpetuated by authorities such as UNESCO, The World Bank and UNICEF and, whilst I ascribe to these same beliefs, I have also had cause to question what type of education and whose knowledge we value and prioritise when making decisions that inform educational policy and practice.

I was introduced to colonial and post-colonial theory initially as an undergraduate studying Literature and so the work of Edward Said in particular returned to the forefront of my mind when considering entering into a teacher-led CPD programme that utilised teachers from the

UK, Europe and the USA to deliver training to teachers from Uganda. This, coupled with the cultural practices module of the EdD course where I had become more acquainted with theorists such as Homi Bhabha and Zygmunt Bauman, gave me a broad theoretical base from which to explore the cultural aspects of the study. Earlier modules on social theory and key educational debates had grounded my understanding in the work of other key theorists utilised within this thesis, particularly Michel Foucault, Etienne Wenger and Jacques Rancière, with whose work I am able to identify my own positionality. My values centre around the principles that communities of practice are effective in creating dialogic models of knowledge, that the role of education should be a transformative, emancipatory experience, that all power is derived from knowledge and that the sharing or withholding of knowledge is used to create social order.

This thesis, by necessity, draws on multiple theoretical discourses and perspectives and, subsequently, in the layering of theory with autoethnographic narrative in order to create a dynamic between lived experience and those discourses and perspectives. It is neither solely a thesis focused on education, nor cultural theory, but rather it demonstrates how both discourses can simultaneously support and problematise a social enterprise that seeks to disseminate knowledge between teachers from vastly different cultures, contexts and systems of education.

1.2 Challenges

Authoring this study has been a challenge in many ways, not least of which has been the struggle to decide which data to include and which to exclude from the work. It is critical to note that the data gathered during my participation in the teacher-led CPD programme could have given insight to a vast number of themes and topics, many of which have, by necessity, been eliminated here as the result of maintaining a simple rationale; that they did not contribute to the aims or questions identified for the purpose of this study. This is not to suggest that this data is lost or that further work will not take place in the future, it simply has not been presented here.

A further challenge has been the adoption of key terms and terminology that, at times, juxtapose my own thinking and positionality. The most distinct example of which is the use of terms such as The West, Western, Global North and The Developed World and their counterparts, Other or Others, Global South and The Developing or Third World. Whilst

some of these terms were easy to dismiss as antiquated or unhelpful, they can still be found within the surrounding literature and media and it is not easy to suggest a viable alternative. I have adopted the terms of Western and Other as they are the terms most frequently used by the theorists whose work I have utilised, but recognise that these are reductive and often unsatisfactory in conveying the intricacies of meaning. In this case, I use The West or Western, to represent two things; the location of the former colonisers and as the origin of the programme in which I took part. The organisation was set up and is based in the UK, although teachers from the UK and America are the most frequent volunteers. Additionally, there were volunteers on this particular programme that originated from Australia and Singapore, which complicates this definition further. However, though from different locations, all three were teaching in the same British school following a British curriculum in Singapore and so I am able to reconcile this with the broad use of the term Western in this respect. The opposite term of Other, capitalised as a proper noun for clarity, is again utilised uncomfortably and often substituted for local or Ugandan in my writing. It is again utilised in place of a viable alternative and because it is the term most frequently used by Said and Bhabha.

An additional dilemma of note in terms of the use of terminology, or more specifically with a specific register of language, is the use of very Westernised education jargon. I have noted in my own writing there is a deluge of such terms that have fallen into routine use; delivery, pedagogy, quality of teaching and learning, outcomes, objectives, plenary, professional development, CPD, assessment, observations, metacognition... the list is endless. These terms are so common in my own vernacular that they almost escape my notice, but they identify me unquestionably as a product of a very distinct and very established system of education; be it one that I simultaneously love and loathe, I am still very much located as a part of it. It was debated whether these terms should be omitted all together, but, after consideration, I determined that this would be ineffective. Firstly, because it would serve to mute my own voice; it is who I am and it is what I know and so to pretend otherwise would be disingenuous. Furthermore, the noticing of this vocabulary at key points, particularly when for example cultural dissonance is being noted, enabled me to analyse where and when my interpretations and understanding were being shaped through my own nuanced perspective as a product of Western education. My use of these term forms a part of the ongoing evolution of my understanding as a result of reflection during this thesis. Such terms have not therefore been removed, but are rather noted and facilitate moments whereby I am able to catch my own

thinking as being entrenched in Westernised terms and attempts to notice and address the nativity of such terms will be made.

Equally, I also draw attention to the way in which local terminology is utilised and adopted in order to gain insight and understanding of the culture in which Western teachers are working. Terms from the local dialect such as 'Muzungu' (a local term meaning visitor or outsider, usually associated with white people) along with greetings and terms of respectful address in Rukiga (the local dialect) are discussed within the Autoethnographic data section (p115). There is the dichotomy of language at play at times; it can be used both to include and exclude from a community, to both build and break down barriers.

I also note that there is a tendency in academic writing not to pose too many questions as they create a desire for answers and resolution. Writers such as Judith Bell (2015) offer guidance on writing cogent research proposals with structured, purposeful questions that streamline focus, however, it is perhaps a fallacy to expect that all questions can be answered, but it is my firm belief that questions should be asked, nonetheless. All questions may not be answerable, but all can be reflected upon, despite their resolutions not being forthcoming and such questions have helped me to identify many of the irreconcilable tensions that occur in a situation as is being presented throughout this thesis. Throughout the text of this thesis, I will draw out and return to these tensions, not in the hope of explaining them away, but in order to contribute to a body of knowledge that, as yet, is scant in volume; what are the tensions that characterise CPD when a Western educator is involved in provision in a non-Western context?

The specific questions and the aims of this study have been intentionally fluid from the outset of this thesis. Before going to Uganda, I knew that I wanted to explore what it might be like to participate in a teacher-led CPD programme that took place in a formerly colonised location and was delivered by practitioners from formerly colonising countries. However, the exact parameters of the study have had to be finalised much later as it was necessary to ensure flexibility in both the data collection stage and in selecting a methodology that would be best suited to its presentation. My initial expectation had been that I would produce a case study with an autoethnographic dimension to it, as facilitated through journal entries and plentiful visual data, but both the wealth of data collected and further reflection during and since the field work phase strengthened my conviction in adopting a different approach in order to better present that data and to represent my experiences more authentically.

Initially, I used the term ‘complexities’ to explain the myriad of challenges I faced in conducting this study, for example, experiencing ‘dis-ease’ in a post-colonial context, understanding the cultures and hierarchies of knowledge and power (Foucault, 1998) that I was experiencing, my growing concerns over policy/pedagogy borrowing and representing other people’s voices fairly.

As the data collection and reflection on that data proceeded, I began to understand that research such as this could never be free of the irreconcilable conflicts and tensions that occur when undertaking research that seeks to explore how hierarchies of knowledge and power are experienced by different parties. It also became clear that representing any experience beyond my own was both unachievable and disingenuous, as will be discussed in the methodology section.

As an early starting point, I drew on Adichie’s seminal work on ‘The Danger of the Single Story’ (2016) in which she stated the dangers of over-generalising groups of people into singular identities that are often perpetuated by the media. I understood this in terms of the singular identity I had imagined for the schools and children that I had seen for sub-Saharan Africa and began to focus on the contrasts I might draw between that perceived singular identity and the experiential multitudinous identities I might encounter once in Uganda. At this time, I had a research question that focused on how the danger of the single story might apply to Western teachers delivering CPD in a non-Western context.

This consideration was further propelled when reading Anwaruddin’s work (2014) that draws upon Rancièrian reading of the World Bank to explore educational neo-colonialism. This invited reflection over whether work such as that which I was intending to undertake might be understood as a part of a discourse of incapacity and the explicative order of Western to non-Western countries. Again, my research question was again revised to consider whether teacher-led CPD was a form of neo-colonialism.

I take an iterative approach whereby I return to these questions often and in light of theoretical perspectives, lived experience through the autoethnographic text and image analysis and the discussion and concluding chapters. These questions were not easily arrived at and required frequent revisiting in order to refine and clarify focus. This was indeed an opportunity to notice my own use of Westernised educational jargon as I grappled with terms such as CPD, delivery and provision when writing these questions. The term ‘delivery,’ for

example is one I considered omitting from use within this thesis altogether as I felt it represented a clearly neo-liberal notion of education as a commercial entity that felt incongruent with the culture in which I was working, although it does remain in the title and for the paper because, as I came to realise, there are neoliberalist traces throughout the programme, regardless of the culture in which it exists. Spending time immersed in not only another country and culture, but another form of education practice gave rise to a host of experiences and insights that ranged from educational practice to gender roles, familial relationships to the use of natural resources and many of which do not feature explicitly within this thesis, but all helped to shape my own understanding and beliefs about the culture of the community in which I worked.

1.3 Overview

In the literature review I identify and explore three areas of literature, critically and inextricably linked when attempting to make sense of lived experiences. Firstly, I consider the historical context of the location within which I was working. I endeavour to demonstrate my own understanding of rural Uganda, based on historical context and that which I was able to research prior to visiting, but also the influences on education policy and practice this context might inspire. I also explore non-traditional sources that help to build this contextual understanding for researchers and volunteers, such as myself, in the form of multi-media publishing that might influence perceptions and beliefs, both consciously and subconsciously, in as far as I am aware of them. It is impossible to homogenise the culture of an entire country based purely on history or the insights gleaned from the media, particularly as an outsider, but I aim to illustrate at least some of the complexities of the setting and the often conflicting ideals that I became aware of in exploring the culture in which I was set to emerge.

Secondly, I explore post-colonial theory through the work of Edward Said and Homi Bhabha, specifically exploring the potential for both neo-colonialism and decolonisation to occur through this educational CPD programme. I am mindful of the opposing nature of these concepts and the potential of both to be evident in my experience. These theoretical frameworks are prevalent and recurrent throughout this study, so it is key to explain the way in which I use concepts introduced in Said's *Orientalism* (1978) and built upon in Bhabha's *The Location of Culture* (1994) in order to understand the ways in which the self and other were historically and are now understood. Using this framework of the Orient and the binaries explored by Bhabha, I explore how difference was and is experienced and how that

which is considered to be Western and otherwise coexist in a very specific context of post-colonial rural Uganda. When using the term, 'post-colonial,' I defer to Bhabha's explanation, as explored within the literature review, whereby 'post' is not used to indicate that we are beyond the colonial era, but rather at a point after colonialism has occurred, but whereby its traces can still be felt and experienced. The extent to which this is evident in my experience of the programme is of key interest throughout this study. I was keen to explore where moments of neo-colonialism might occur, where there is evident dependence upon the former colonies and reinforcement of the discourses of incapacity that this perpetuates, whilst simultaneously reinforcing an illusion of freedom. I draw on this term as first utilised by Nkrumah (1967). Equally, I explore where there might be moments that represent conscious movement further away from incapacity towards emancipation or decolonisation. Decolonisation can be understood in numerous ways; the act of abolishing colonies most simplistically, but here I would rather consider the term as defined by Bhabra (2014) when drawing upon Mignolo (2007), an epistemic shift that enables the rhetoric of what Eurocentric, Western modernity is to be rethought in the emancipated perspective of the (former) colony. In this section, I also explore the work of eclectic sociologist Zygmunt Bauman. Although he too writes on the topics of imperialism and post-colonialism, it is his works on community and identity that makes his writing germane to the post-colonial field that this study is situated within.

Finally, as this CPD programme exists both in educational settings and as a tool for education in the form of professional development, educational theories are reviewed in the final component of the Literature Review, focusing specifically on Wenger's communities of practice and Rancière's stultification and emancipatory models of learning. It was my understanding from the outset that the programme I sought to participate in had a conceptual model derived from that of Wenger's communities of practice; bringing together groups of professionals in order to achieve collective learning in the practice of teaching and learning. However, it was also evident that the roles of participants from different locales and cultures may not have an equal share in developing that practice. I wanted to explore the ways hierarchies of knowledge might operate and whether a dialogic model could or would be achieved and whether the programme would be collaborative or instructional.

Rancière's models of stultification and emancipation as outlined in his work, *The Ignorant Schoolmaster* align substantially with these complexities of educational professional development in a post-colonial context. I wanted to explore to what extent I would witness

the assumptions of superior Westernised knowledge that would be enforced upon the Ugandan teachers and to what extent there would be an attempt to open dialogue, learn from one another and an emancipatory model of learning. Rancière himself admits that emancipatory learning is idealised, but I explored whether there was evidence of an attempt to aspire to this model or not.

In the Methodology, Methods and Ethics sections, I examine how and why an autoethnographic methodology was employed to collect the data within this thesis, the range of methods selected and indeed de-selected and the ethical ramifications of this process. My previous research (both during the Doctorate and prior to it) has routinely been aligned to the qualitative and interpretivist paradigms as this is where I feel my own ontological and epistemological beliefs reside. However, this is the first time that I have considered the use of autoethnography as not only the most suitable, but only viable methodology for a project. As is explored in the corresponding chapter, it was soon apparent that depicting the data collected when on location in Uganda as anything other than a series of lived and inherently personal experiences seemed false. It is impossible for me to comment for or on the lived experience of either my own or different cultures and to be able to capture fully how and why they felt, believed or acted in any specific way. All that is possible is for me to represent my own experience and explore how that is informed by my own understanding of events, cultures and relationships evident at that point in time. That is not to say I was not interested to explore the perspectives of other people and did, at length, attempt to capture this through the use of visual images, interviews, journals and artefacts. However, what I sought were points of resonance that enabled me to see the convergence between my own and others' experiences and helped me to interpret the cultural, social and educational practices in which I was immersed.

In the Discussion: Autoethnographic Reflections section that forms the data of this thesis, I focus on some key moments of my experiences, such as my first impressions when arriving in country and the inevitable culture shock I witnessed in myself and others, attempts to create cultural integration through the learning of language, customs and conscious aims to create positive relationships between visiting and local teachers, school visits, meeting the staff and students in schools, the mutual curiosity that I endeavoured to capture through images and the conference days where the CPD took place. I also explore the interviews undertaken and how they impacted on my understanding of the experience, the working relationships built and the nature of the practice and how it can be understood through the application of the

above detailed cultural and educational theoretical lenses. I utilise transcripts of the interviews, the images captured, notes and sketchbooks to support this.

Within the conclusion chapter I present a summary discussion of the data in the autoethnography and aim to further draw out what might be in an empirical study referred to as findings. I intentionally avoid this term as it is not possible in such a subjective study to label my experience or the narrative it informs as quantitative evidence or 'truth' belonging to anyone other than myself. This section contributed to the understanding of what it might be like to work in a formerly colonised location and as a member of the formerly colonising force in the capacity of a CPD provider. The tensions I experienced and complexities of the professional, social and cultural interactions I detail throughout the autoethnographic text will no doubt be unique in their representation and from a unique perspective, but they are also now and (I am sure) certain to be in the future, replicated as programmes of this nature continue to expand and grow. The programme I was involved with has been active since 2012 and in its first year involved 5 teaching fellows from the UK delivering CPD to 26 teachers in Uganda. Since then the same organisation has delivered training to over 3750 teachers in 10 different countries including Uganda, India, Guyana, Belize, Ghana and Tanzania; all of which are former colonies. It is also not the only programme of its nature with other CPD type programmes using peer learning or communities of practice as a teaching model in education, but also in other professional areas such as medicine, veterinary science and agriculture. Whilst I do not intend to comment specifically on those programmes in any way, this investigation suggests that it is essential that those participating in such programmes become more aware of the tensions and complexities that exist in such a location.

I make clear what this study has revealed, how I and others might learn from it and the applications it has to offer for others undertaking work of this nature. It is my hope that it will at very least facilitate greater understanding and reflection upon the impact of such a programme on both the visiting and the visited professionals and enable greater cultural sensitivity. It is my conclusion that such a programme has the potential to contribute both towards neo-colonialism and towards decolonisation, to be both stultifying and emancipatory. It is only through greater understanding, empathy and conscious decisions undertaken by all participants that such programmes become positive rather than negative and can be considered worthwhile.

This introduction to my thesis has begun to demonstrate the complex nature of this study and the ways in which I, as the researcher, have had to constantly question and evaluate my own understanding and positionality throughout the project. I have given insights into how and why the study was undertaken, the challenges of language that have occurred, reviewed some of the key cultural and educational theorists utilised throughout and given an overview of the chapters to follow. In the next chapter, I will examine the research questions and aims more thoroughly.

2.0 Research Questions and Aims

In this chapter, I explore the main and subsidiary research questions and aims of the study in greater detail, reflecting on the need for revision and transparency in their creation.

The research questions have been renegotiated gradually and revised multiple times over the duration of this study. This would be uncomfortable reading if this were a study claiming to exist within an objective, positivist paradigm. However, this study pretends nothing of the sort. It was clear from the onset that this thesis would be qualitative and it would embrace the interpretivist and constructivist paradigms.

The reasons for this are multiple. Firstly, the experiences of participants in a programme of this nature (teachers from very different cultures) would each hold subjective perspectives based on their own cultures and beliefs surrounding education and I, as the researcher, would be interacting with the other teachers, not as an impartial observer, but as a representative of one of those cultures, as a product of one educational system, from which it would never be possible to divorce my interpretations and understanding. For this reason, it was always going to be essential to attempt to recognise my own perspectives, whilst acknowledging this would never be fully achieved as many would be so ingrained that they would not occur to me as biases. Reflexivity has been essential and I have attempted to capture and represent my own thinking and values where they have emerged, but also recognise that there will be inevitable moments where these attempts fail.

For this reason, it became evident that the best course was not to attempt to represent a neutral account of the experience of delivering CPD in a different culture to my own, but rather to utilise the opportunity to create thick, rich description (Geertz, 1973) in order to best represent those experiences from my perspective which could then be analysed in order to gain greater insights into how and why my interpretations of experience could be understood by others.

Initially, I wanted this study to be just that; an exploration of an experience in order to explore exactly what it is like to go to a culture different to your own to deliver teacher training or professional development. I therefore began to question what parts of that experience might be useful in generating knowledge useful to others in a similar position, questioning the complexities of such a programme. I began to consider what these complexities might be; understanding a very different culture, becoming aware of hierarchies of knowledge and

power, experiencing concerns over policy/pedagogy borrowing (something that concerns me on a local and national level, so could only be exacerbated on an international scale), representing 'others' fairly and experiencing 'dis-ease' in a post-colonial context all featured heavily in my mind.

It is the final concern above that perhaps had the greatest influence on my methodology; representing the views of others' was not something I felt sufficiently able to achieve and so I arrived at the questions below, focusing on the tensions from my own perspective, whilst using the subsidiary questions left room for me to further consider the broader implications of a programme such as this in terms of neo-colonialism and positive impacts that could counter this interpretation.

Main research question:

What are the tensions that characterise continuing professional development (CPD) when a Western educator is involved in provision in a non-Western context?

Subsidiary Questions:

1. How is teacher-led CPD experienced by teachers from vastly different cultural contexts?
2. Are teacher-led professional development programmes delivered by Western teachers to Ugandan teachers a form of neo-colonialism?
3. Can Western-led programmes have a positive impact?

Aims

The primary aim arrived at for this thesis then are to explore the tensions that were and could again be experienced when delivering a form of professional development in a non-Western context.

However, the term 'continuing professional development' (CPD) is an inherently Western term. It is what might be referred to in other professions as training or a course delivered to people already in role as a teacher. In the UK, it assumes that all teachers are qualified as they are already undertaking the role. This is not necessarily the case in Uganda. Whilst in my experience most teachers were qualified, this was not always the case. According to 'Teachers

initiative in sub-Saharan Africa' (TISSA) paper (2013) on 'Teacher Issues in Uganda,' routes to becoming a teacher in Uganda seem wide and varied with qualification pre-training and experience required prior to joining a school being different depending on year group and location for training, for example, only 12 weeks of in-service training is required to be a community child care teacher, but 3 years pre-service and 2 years in service training is required to be a secondary teacher with a BEd. There are teacher roles available through training institutions, that do not require a university degree. It is required that all teachers are qualified, but there remain 'underqualified' teachers in Ugandan schools, in so much as that they are expected to undertake it at some point. However, conclusions drawn within this document point to issues in government spending, cost of training and lack of sufficient qualified teachers as resulting in schools employing under qualified teachers.

This lack of training could give rise to a belief that surely some form of training or development must therefore be better than what could be none or very little previously available, but this would be to oversimplify this study. The study further aims to explore the tensions specific to a Western teacher delivering in a non-Western context. This is of critical significance because it would be a universal assumption that all training would be of benefit but can the same be said when discourses of power and the subjection of cultures become entwined with that training? There is a need to consider how the training is experienced, whether the imbalances of power between the former colonisers and colonised are evident, whether the programme serves to reinforce colonial ideals and so becomes neo-colonialist in its approach, or whether there remains a positive outcome in the communities of practice that may be established as a result of this sort of international and transcultural cooperation.

These are the aims of the subsidiary questions; to explore the extent to which these interpretations of the CPD programme were experienced by the researcher and to attempt to find some resonance in these interpretations within the forms of data collected. Whilst I will further discuss the data collection methods in the following Methodology and Methods sections, the link between the aims and these methods is clearly illustrated here. Whilst there can be no triangulation of facts in the quantitative sense, the use of images and interviews will be shown to have supported the interpretations arrived at. They enable the complexities revealed through singular experience to be both reinforced and interrogated through the pluralism of different perspectives in order to identify moments of comparison and contrast.

This chapter has sought to further clarify the research question and subsidiary questions and to explicate their origins. It has made clear the need for revision and reflection on these questions in light of an understanding of the nature of the research area and explored the link between aims and methods. In the following chapter, I will utilise these questions to support the review of literature relevant to this thesis.

3.0 Literature Review

As explored in the introduction to this thesis, there are three strands to this literature review. Firstly, the historical and cultural context of the location in which this research took place. This is included in order to demonstrate how my own understanding of rural Uganda has evolved and is influenced based upon historical events, illustrations of culture and influences on policy. It is impossible to homogenise the culture of a country into a single short chapter, but an effort is made to express the contrasts and complexities of the context and its representation to visitors such as myself.

Secondly, this literature review will focus on post-colonial theory utilising key theorists Homi Bhabha and Zygmunt Bauman at length, but also a broader range of authors, particularly from non-Western perspectives, who seek to build upon their work. This is a field within which this research is firmly situated due to the time, location and differences of cultures inescapably evident throughout the study. I explore the concepts of neo-colonialism and decolonisation in order to employ these when undertaking analysis of my own experiences.

Finally, the third strand of this literature review focuses on Educational theories from Etienne Wenger and Jacques Rancière. I focus on Lave & Wenger's (1991) theory of Communities of Practice to explore the use of creating networks of teachers from across the globe to build expertise in teaching. This is particularly relevant to the third of the subsidiary questions of this thesis; Can Western-led programmes have a positive impact? This is the theoretical lens through which I believe this question can be most significantly explored as this is what I consider the participants within the teacher-led CPD project were engaging in, a community of practice. Whilst Rancière's contrasting models of emancipation and stultification through learning enable exploration of the broader implications of this practice.

Although not central to this study, there are other theories that are and could be of further relevance; those of power and how it is obtained and held; discourse, discipline and punishment and aspects of feminist theory relating to conformity and abjection. Whilst some are alluded to within this chapter, it is not possible to apply thoroughly all relevant theorists to the areas of analysis within the parameters of this study. There is, to a certain extent, an attempt to prioritise those that I have felt resonated most with my own experiences and have offered the greatest windows of insight, whilst fully acknowledging that it would be entirely possible to interpret the data collected through different lenses to those adopted here.

As discussed in the introduction, there are also key terms and constructs that have emerged throughout the reading undertaken here that ought to be addressed prior to their usage and a supposition of common meanings. There are many terms used to distinguish between and denote those geographical locations which are considered to be more richly resourced economies that are subsequently and significantly more affluent and those that are perceived as poorer locations that are also perceived as less affluent and therefore less globally competitive. The texts I review here adopt terms that have been used interchangeably and whose origins are not always expressed, as they have seemingly fallen into the vernacular of the theorists using them. For the former category, terms such as The West or Western World, Developed Countries, 1st World Countries, The Core or The North are frequently used and, by contrast, the terms the East, The Orient, Developing Countries, 3rd World countries, The Periphery or The South are utilised respectively. Whilst those using compass points might correspond to areas on a traditional map and all might give an impression of neat categorisation of countries, cultures and peoples, this is not here accepted as credible. These terms label constructs and oversimplify distinctions, upholding a pretence that there is a uniformity to identity based upon locations, populations, practices and economies. As stated within the introduction, I acknowledge the problematic nature of these terms and the connotations that are associated with them. However, there is, at times, a need to identify participants and the organisations to which they belong to as a product of both such a perceived culture and, perhaps more significantly, of such a cultural divide. Though problematic, these terms are therefore, cautiously used within this study as an umbrella term to refer to these broadly understood constructs and in the absence of a more satisfactory alternative.

There is also a need to express a consideration of the positioning of theorists drawn upon within this literature review. I am acutely aware that I am writing about experiences within an African culture from a juxtaposed position of a white, 'Western' perspective. My own academic training and background situates me firmly within this school of thought and this is the well from which much of my theoretical knowledge is primarily drawn. Theorists such as Foucault, Rancière, Bourdieu and Ball (amongst others) have been prevalent Western thinkers, frequently encountered throughout not only my doctoral studies, but also my post and even undergraduate tuition, making their influences in my own epistemological understanding undeniable. It would be impossible for me to pretend to escape such influences and so I have not attempted to do so. However, theorists such as Bauman and

Bhabha have assisted in broadening these theoretical lenses and there has also been a conscious effort to explore the work of lesser known (to me) theorists and academics, specifically those from a non-Eurocentric and specifically African context within this literature review, such as Anwaruddin (2014), Adichie (2016), Tiberondwa (1998), Nkrumah (1967), Mheta (2015) and Mbiti (2016); all of which have impacted significantly on my own thinking. This is not an attempt to negate the 'Western' theoretical perspective integral to my own positioning, but rather to provide challenges and open a wider debate, whilst acknowledging an entirely balanced or neutral standpoint is never achievable. The review that follows and this research study as a whole is impossible to divorce from such influences, but I have explicitly stated their existence and acknowledged them (insofar as that I am consciously aware of them) where possible.

3.1 Historical and Cultural Context

Locating this research within a degree of historical context is essential, though it is also acknowledged that it is only possible to do so briefly within this section. It is difficult to understand the complex interlinking influences on education, beliefs and culture, both on the visiting researcher and on the research participants without an underpinning in at least the general and recent history of the location and subsequent context. As I am conscious that I am situated within a white, British and formerly colonising culture, finding a clear and meaningful account of historical events, one that fully appreciates the impacts on the education systems of today in Uganda, has been challenging. Many of the texts found were written by white, male, European authors who, acknowledge it or not, have a very particular perspective on the colonial history and the progress of the country post-colonisation (Rice, 2010; Jerry, 2016). That is not to say that all are to be represented as sympathetic to the British colonialists and dismissive of Ugandan socio-political progress in the period since; indeed, at times it seemed that the opposite was true; many modern European authors demonstrate their desire to move against such a trend. Reid (2014) acknowledges:

History has been associated in many ways with particular political agendas, and the perception, often correct, is that the past has been episodically and cynically mobilized in the name of carefully defined causes—regional, ethnic, and religious (Reid, 2014, p.351).

Here I have written a concise and cogent account based on that which has been determined from various data sources, rather than from a singular perspective or voice, much less a solely Western or Eurocentric voice, acknowledging that neither the source, nor the interpretation of it can be devoid of the writer's influence. Where gaps occur in the body of literature sourced from multiple authors (Mutibwa, 1992; Tiberwonda, 1998, Edozie, 2017; Ahimbisibwe, 2016), I default to Reid's (2014 and 2017) works most frequently because it is the most recent text written by an author who seeks to identify and acknowledge his own positionality in order to portray events in as fair terms as is possible, rather than consciously or otherwise reinforcing a purely Eurocentric narrative.

Whilst the roots of British colonialism can be traced back to the sixteenth century, it was not until the nineteenth century and early twentieth century that the colonial empire formally extended to Uganda. Historians of the time claimed that Britain's expansive empire was testament to the success of a proud nation who assumed the role of a unifying ruler, taking civilisation, Christianity, government and trade to the unruly and savage reaches of the world. It is no accident that upon the Imperial British East African Company handing over control of its rights of territory to the British government in 1894, the title given to the nation was 'The British *Protectorate* of Uganda'. The colonists saw themselves as protectors from threats from both within and without of newly unified nation; years of civil war had raged between the four kingdoms within the Uganda region and in the more immediate past preceding the colonisation, the threat of military incursions from Egypt and Kabarega on Buganda, motivated the then Bugandan King (Kabaka) Mutesa I to write to Queen Victoria in 1877, requesting that she send missionaries to Buganda to teach his people the Christian religion and 'Western Knowledge.' (Mutibwa, 1992, p.1). This gave rise to the belief that the later colonisation was for the country's own good. We can only guess at the motives behind Kabaka's request; protection from conflict seems likely, but the call on religious and educational instruction as a means of securing this protection has had enormous ramifications ever since and continues to be relevant in the implementation of educational policy and practice in Uganda today, having laid the foundations for support to be offered and accepted from visiting teachers and religious leaders.

Not all supported the interference of foreign visitors and, following the death of King Mutesa I, his young son and heir, Mwanga, grew suspicious of the missionaries and disinterested in Christianity. Not only did he banish the missionaries, but he actively persecuted them, executing prominent missionary agents of the time and his own people who had decided to

follow the Christian faith. The challenge to his power was to him intolerable; how could a new king compete with 'the new God whom they feared and respected more than their own earthly ruler' (Tiberondwa, 1998, p.24)?

Despite these fierce attempts to quash the new religion, the missionaries continued to come and to succeed in spreading their faith. Christianity and education can perhaps be understood as almost synonymous at this point. The need to develop 'Western' literacy and language skills grew with the religion ensuring that biblical texts could be accessed and understood; hence the missionaries acted as both teachers in schools and in churches, but this was not all that the missionaries brought; they also brought Western medicine. The effect of this was manifold:

...at a mission station it was usual to find a church to 'save' the soul, a school to capture the mind and a dispensary or hospital to heal the body. The Africans who were not interested in the new religion sent their children to receive a European education and those who were not interested in either became Christian in order to get European medicine (Tiberondwa, 1998, p.38).

Missionary schools spread across the country and the growth of a Western education system was born, offering, 'a new type of education which was a prerequisite to social, political and economic advancement' (Tiberondwa, 1998, p.81). This is where the first traces of Western influence on Ugandan education can be attributed to and this influence has continued ever since.

By the time Uganda took back independence from the British Empire in 1962, the political picture was far from harmonious. Milton Obote began the first political rule as Prime Minister of the country with 'the formidable and unenviable task of welding the various communities of the country into a modern nation-state called Uganda' (Mutibwa, 1992, p.24). However, Obote's reign came to an end when he was (in 1971) overthrown by a military coup led by his commander, Idi Amin. Amin's 7-year tenure saw unspeakable horror inflicted upon the people of Uganda and the economy of the country spiralling out of control. The African Studies Centre (<http://www.africa.upenn.edu/NEH/uhistory.htm>) at The University of Pennsylvania estimates between 100,000 and 500,000 Ugandans are reported to be murdered or tortured at this time. These statistics would, to some, perpetuate the former colonial beliefs that intervention and support from the outside world might be necessary for the

country's own protection, though many would argue that the context of colonialism and post-colonialism is to blame for the turbulent times within the country, the destabilising effects of British rule and the vacuum of power resultant upon its withdrawal have ramifications for all aspects of governance, not least of which is culture and education.

Under threat of invasion, the Tanzanian President, Julius Nyerere, retaliated and, joined by former President and Prime Minister, Milton Obote's private army, forced Amin from power and into exile. Two consecutive governments failed, before a further coup placed Obote back into power in 1980. However, the chaos that has ensued since independence was still not over. Obote had strong factions against him and was only able to maintain power through yet more demonstrations of force, breeding further resentment of his power that some saw as an extension of the oppressive regime he had been previously gifted by the colonists:

When Obote was removed from power in 1971, Ugandans hoped democracy would return to Uganda, but instead they were suffocated under Amin's murderous regime...The system which had been created by the colonial power and then inherited at independence, to be perfected by Obote after the 1966 crisis and matures under Amin's dictatorship, and which the UNLF had failed to remove, was still there. (Mutibwa, 1992, p.154).

Obote was toppled in 1985 with Tiko Okello (a former ally and Uganda General) briefly holding power before Yoweri Museveni taking control in 1986 and he has held power ever since. There have been contradictory accounts of his successes and failures; he receives praise for the significant efforts made towards a better and more stable period in Uganda, whilst others criticise the one-party political model as not having gone far enough towards a modern, democratic country. It is interesting that in the ten priorities listed by the NRM for national reconstruction, education did not explicitly feature; democracy, personal security, national unity, defence and consolidation of independence, national economy, improvement of social services in war-ravaged areas, elimination of corruption, addressing the dislocation of sections of the population, cooperation with other African countries and pursuing a mixed economy.

The years since independence was restored have been anything but easy for Uganda and its people. The point of reflecting on this history is not to wallow in the past, but to consider how it impacts on the research questions in particular. Tiberondwa (1998) writes:

The absence of Western education in pre-colonial Africa does not mean that education did not exist in this continent... In Uganda traditional forms of education existed, based on tribal and clan units, and covered both theoretical and practical fields... Education was, as it is today, part of living, but people did not have to go to school in order to be educated...education was not introduced in Africa by Europeans. What they did was to introduce Western education (Tiberondwa, 1998, p.1).

However, in the later stages of the nineteenth century, particularly given that the request for foreign educators to come to Uganda had originated from within and was not enforced from the outside, it appears that there was at least some desire to experience education and knowledge from beyond the parameters of the country and local context. The progress seen to be made in education and medicine were (and arguably still are) sought after in Uganda. However, it has long been the case that there is a recognition of the whole-sale transfer of education from one very different context to another as being unsuccessful and inappropriate. In 1924 The Phelps-Stokes Commission Report was undertaken with the intention of making recommendations on the 'type of education suitable for the Africans.' Whilst I would certainly problematise its commissioning and process in terms of who should make such decisions and how this could be undertaken by a colonial presence, the central theme of the report was that the education undertaken in Africa should be adapted and tailored towards its recipients in Africa rather than seeking to replicate what was being taught in England, a sentiment that I concur with:

The wholesale transfer of the educational conventions of Europe and America to the peoples of Africa has certainly not been an act of wisdom, however justly it may be defended as a proof of genuine interest in the native people (Leis (1962), as cited by Tiberondwa, 1998, p.76).

This is of particular interest in consideration of whether the borrowing of Western policy and pedagogy was and can be successful in such diverse cultural contexts. It certainly seems that this was not believed to be the case in 1924, so is the same contention likely to be held today? It seems likely that the raging conflicts in Uganda detracted from the focus on a national plan for education and so the system itself is younger, still in its formative years perhaps, unlike the now established equivalent in the West. In this sense, an advantage of expediency in generating policy could be gleaned, but this advantage may be outweighed by the incompatibility of the system itself.

Additionally, the subsidiary research questions can also be considered in response to this historical context: Are teacher led professional development programmes delivered by Western teachers to Ugandan teachers a form of neo-colonialism? Teacher-led CPD in the present, I could argue, does not follow the desires of missionaries to indoctrinate and convert teachers and students to an alternative religion; it is a programme designed to share best practice in established pedagogy and fill a very real need for training that is documented as otherwise being near non-existent. Whilst it is suggested that considerable progress in access to education globally following the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals and Education for All agenda, this has given rise to the ‘twin challenge of recruitment [of teachers] and quality [of teaching]’ (UNESCO, 2016, p.3). It is estimated that in Sub-Saharan Africa a 68% increase in teachers is required over the next decade and significant development is needed in pre and in-service teacher training to make progress by 2030 (UNESCO, 2015). However, there seems to be a limited consensus on how teachers can best be ‘developed’ and ‘motivated to perform.’ (UNESCO, 2016). Is it possible that such programmes are one strategy to meet these needs? Or is the assumption of standardised pedagogical priorities and methodologies equally as flawed as the adoption of curriculum? In which case, Neo-colonialism (the use of education as a tool to create dependency and inequality) could be evident; exerting power and superiority rather than encouraging open and shared dialogue about what constitutes effective teaching and learning or even a discourse of the nature of knowledge and knowing. These are questions will be returned to in light of the data collection in further chapters and the terms of colonialism, neo-colonialism and decolonisation will be further examined.

This section has given some insight into the history of Uganda and identified how this might have influenced the educational landscape of the country today, but has not yet considered what the place and culture of Uganda is like today. Certainly, before visiting (and even still), I have been acutely aware of the need not to assert that it is possible for me, as an outsider, to define this on behalf of a local or national community. However, it is worth considering what can be ascertained from a third-party perspective and the impact this may have on a project such as this. For a modern, current representation, I looked beyond purely academic texts and attempted to glean ideas from a range of sources, ever mindful that each possible representation of culture is only a partial view, always obscured from complete comprehension because I was examining a culture different to my own.

Shortly before I visited Kanungu, in 2017, there was a deadline looming for Ugandan residents to register for their national identity cards, an initiative co-ordinated by the Ministry of International Affairs in an attempt to ‘facilitate the delivery of national development based on reliable & verifiable data’ as is explained through the government website and other supporting pages (NIRA, 2017). However, this also prompted some media outlets, such as AllAfrica (<https://allafrica.com/stories/201704240009.html>) to ask what this step meant for the national identity. Citing the lack of a common national language due to competing official, national and regional languages, the violent history of the country and suspicions of illegitimacy hanging over each political election that has followed the country’s return to independence, fractured national faiths (including beliefs in witchcraft that rival all various monotheistic religions in the country), disproportionate allocations of regional power and little unifying these regions, the site concludes:

When all is said, the Ugandan national identity is one of an underdeveloped, mostly agricultural, mostly rural-based (and rural-minded even when urban-based) society... It means to have this mild, lacklustre national temperament with little conviction, low economic and personal productivity and with tradition still dominant a force in our lives. Foreign powers and influence shape the country and take the decisions that matter most. That is the true national ID (AllAfrica, 2017).

This perspective is, of course, one that is highly critical of the modern Ugandan culture and subsequent national identity as a result of that culture. Whilst it is not a view that I believe to be shared by all Ugandans, its inclusion here signposts some of the tensions and complexities that may be felt to greater or lesser degrees by some of the participants in this programme; not only expressed in a negative, frustrated or despondent response to identity, but also in a motivating sense, as something to move away from in the pursuit of a better sense of national identity moving forwards.

This conflict of identity is exemplified as it is played out in many different arenas across the culture. In the economic arena, writers such as Edozie (2017) explore the tensions between the emergence of ‘Pan-Africa’ as torn between the neoliberalist capitalism and the spirit of ‘Ubuntu’ (a focus on positive human interactions that are built on compassion, care and kindness towards others which will also be explored in the educational perspectives section, p50 onwards.) in African business and commerce. He explores whether models of Afri-capitalism and Ubuntu Business can be compatible with globalisation, detailing a highbred

model where there is, rather than cut-throat competition and exploitative practices, a humanitarian form of capitalism that is both profitable and caring for the community in which it operates.

Uganda's spirit of Ubuntu can be seen in other areas too; for example, estimates in 2016 suggest Uganda has taken in more than 810,000 refugees and is the eighth-largest refugee hosting country in the world (Ahimbisibwe, 2016, p730). Yet the spirit of Ubuntu, of collective identity and the qualities of compassion and kindness are less apparent in other areas.

Besigiroha (2014) explores the 'contradictory sex sensibilities' of Uganda, examining the shifting sands of tolerance and persecution that accompanies homosexuality. Despite many arguing that prior to the imposition of colonial rule which initially outlawed homosexuality after a history of tolerance, Uganda now persecutes same sex practices with homosexuality being illegal in the country and punishable by long-term prison sentences in the country. Some MPs in parliament are now pursuing a reinstatement of the short-lived death penalty punishment that was passed into law briefly in 2014 before being rescinded by the country's constitutional court a few months later, despite external pressure and international sanctions pushing for the law to be abolished.

These are but a few examples of the complex and, at times, contradictory tensions in Ugandan culture and, after my time in Uganda, I can say that there are polarised positions within this culture, as there are in any, with regards to these and countless other issues. However, what is relevant to this study is that this is a culture that does not always align easily with that of those people visiting from the West. There are manifestations of culture that are difficult to reconcile across these cultures and to assume them to be the same would be now, as it has always been in the past, erroneous. That is not to suggest these two cultures and the multitudinous articulations of sub-cultures within each are without areas of commonality, but there should be an appreciation and recognition of this difference as a starting point for this and all work of this nature.

3.2 Post-colonial Theory

The discourse surrounding Post-colonial contexts, particularly those considered to be 'developing countries' is often bleak, as will be further explored. It has been suggested that the term 'Post-Colonial' in and of itself is not without issues. Bhabha (1994) makes the key distinction that whilst the prefix of 'post' applied to a theoretical construct, such as post-

modernity or post-colonialism, does not indicate that we are only sequentially after the period historically referred to as colonial, rather it can 'only embody its restless and revisionary energy if they transform the present into an expanded and ex-centric site of experience and empowerment' (Bhabha, 1994, p.4). Post-Colonialism then aims to examine the effects of imposing one culture and its practices onto another culture, both at the time of the imposition and at any period thereafter where the ramifications may still be felt, experienced and identifiable. Post-colonial theories have often been applied to studies of literature, where the representation of characters identified as 'Others' were interrogated critically in order to reveal the attitudes and biases inherent in both the writer and reader, hence signifying the same attitudes and biases inherent in the societies to which said writers and readers belong. However, there has also been an increasing application of such theories to other spheres; anthropology, history, politics, religion, philosophy. Within this study, I apply post-colonial theory to education and teacher-led CPD in order to explore what can be revealed about my own and other participants inherent attitudes and biases in much the same way.

The theoretical frameworks of post and neo-colonial theory are essential in addressing two of my research questions; how is participation in teacher-led CPD experienced by teachers from vastly different cultural contexts? and are teacher led professional development programmes delivered by Western teachers to Ugandan teachers a form of neo-colonialism? It is important both to address how teachers from such different contexts might be viewed, which is explored through the concepts of self and other as follows below and to consider how the terms of post and neo-colonialism might be applied to this CPD programme and others like it through the frame of neo-colonialism that will be examined later within this chapter.

There is an extensive range of post-colonial theorists that could be explored and reviewed to this end and many have been of great influence in the field of post-colonial studies. The origins of this school of thought are most notably attributed to Edward Said, who posited the opposing cultures of the 'West' and the 'Orient' in his seminal text, *Orientalism* (1978). His theories have since been further adopted, critiqued and developed by others and here I utilise the work of two such theorists, Homi K. Bhabha and Zygmunt Bauman. These were chosen having reviewed multiple theorists and examined the ways in which perspectives might be employed. It was evident that within the post-colonial field, Bhabha would facilitate a greater understanding of the issues raised within the study. Bhabha's work offers a critique of and development upon previous post-colonial theories and demonstrates the impact of colonisation on both the coloniser and the colonised, whilst Bauman's explorations of

Community and Identity will be integral to the analysis of the data collected. Though not typically identifiable as a post-colonialist and far more recognised as a sociologist, Bauman draws on the earlier works of Bhabha, examining colonialism and imperialism, in order to explore the tensions between the security of community and the freedom of individual identity that resonate substantially with the global, national and local discourses surrounding education.

Within 'The Location of Culture,' Homi Bhabha (1994) challenges the understanding of the binaries by which others previously justified the positions of the colonised and the coloniser. In justification of the act of colonisation, it was necessary to constitute two opposing identities, the Westerner and that which was 'Other,' encapsulating all that did not conform to the parameters of Western society and culture. Drawing on the work of Edward Said (Orientalism, 1978). Bhabha questions the ways in which these identities were previously understood; the West possessing traits of being positively cultured, civilised, modern and knowledgeable and the Other as uncultured, uncivilised, primitive and lacking in learning and knowledge. These binaries were, Bhabha argues, always fictitious, oversimplified and unsustainable.

Bhabha further argues that we have now moved towards 'a focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences' (Bhabha, 1994, p.4). In examining this concept and relating it to the parameters of this study, it seems fairly obvious that there are distinct differences between education that takes place within classrooms located within the perimeters of the West and education that takes place in the African context of rural Uganda. However, it can often appear that the understanding of those differences is considered so implicit that this is never explicitly stated in either the administration of any CPD programmes or transference of policy and pedagogy. Making tacit differences and implicit assumption explicit is key and I will further draw on the work of Oberg (1960), who coined the term 'culture shock' in the mid-1950s, and who defines it as 'the anxiety that results from losing all our familiar signs and symbols of social intercourse' (Moran et. al. 2007, p.272). This, along with the lack of understanding of such similarities and differences, will be further explored within the Findings chapters. Rather than assuming sameness between teachers from widely varied cultures and contexts, I argue that acknowledging and understanding difference is potentially how a programme can become useful, both to those delivering the programme and those partaking in it, rather than an exercise in neo-colonialism.

There are substantial differences between the pragmatics in the systems of education and teacher professional development to be explored within the data sections of this thesis and Bhabha suggests that 'it is in the emergence of the interstices – the overlap and displacement of domains of difference – that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated' (1994, p.2). However, Bhabha also asked the question, 'What is at stake in the naming of critical theory as 'Western?' (p.56). The same can be asked of the systems of education: What is at stake in the naming of educational theory and/or pedagogy as Western? Is the conclusion likely to be the same, for example, a 'designation of institutional power and ideological Eurocentricity?' (p.216). Is the aim to 'universalize their meaning' or is it a more 'sinister' attempt to marginalise that which is outside of its meanings, giving anything that is other 'no space or power' and thus ensure conformity? This is one of the many tensions to be explored within the data and its subsequent discussion of it.

The interpretation of the data within this thesis evidences the ways in which differences (these interstices) are either considered or acted upon, but also highlights the ways such differences might, at times, be overlooked and ignored in the pursuit of the rapid application of professional practices that are already well established in the West. This in turn makes the convenient supposition that the same practices are going to be effective and are therefore desirable in the rural Ugandan context.

Bhabha asks:

How do strategies of representation or empowerment come to be formulated in the competing claims of communities where, despite shared histories of deprivation and discrimination, the exchange of values, meanings and priorities may not always be collaborative and dialogical, but may be profoundly antagonistic, conflictual and even incommensurable? (Bhabha, 1994, p.2)

This question is of particular relevance to this investigation in so much as there are clear conflicts within the 'strategies of representation and empowerment' that the data will highlight. Whilst Bhabha may have been focusing on the 'shared histories' between groups of equally or at least similarly deprived and discriminated against groups, here I will consider the power imbalance that occurs when the history shared is one of extreme inequality and how this tension manifests within the post-colonial

context when a working party is established between the formerly colonised and former colonisers.

Whilst empowerment might be the desire of those running such a CPD programme as the one that is explored within this study, there is a clear tension that begs the questions; can and does it achieve the aims of transforming the present state of education into something that is both improved and empowered to improve outcomes, or does it fall short and so limit itself to a form of 'neo-colonialism,' referred to by some as representing 'imperialism in its final and perhaps its most dangerous stage?' (Nkrumah, 1967, p.1).

Neo-colonialism is defined by the Encyclopaedia Britannica (Halperin, 2019) as 'the control of less-developed countries through indirect means.' Theorists broadly agree that it is the use of capitalism, globalisation and cultural imperialism in order to influence and control the less developed country, but this term, as well as the understanding of colonisation and decolonisation have been debated since their conception, which can be widely attributed to the discourse surrounding French occupation of Algeria and other Western countries exerting political and economic control over Africa in the late 1950s. In the preface to Frantz Fanon's 'Wretched of the Earth,' originally published in 1961, Sartre describes how the world moved from the colonised and colonisers to a position where the 'third world finds itself and speaks to itself' (Fanon, 1991, p.10) as a result of the post-war era whereby the military oppression of peoples was recognised as unacceptable. However, he argues that this did not result in a 'homogenous world.' Rather, there were varying degrees of new identity to be found; 'enslaved peoples... some who have achieved a simulacrum of phoney independence, others who are still fighting to attain sovereignty and others again who... live under the constant menace of imperialist aggression' (Fanon, 1991, p.10). It can be argued that whilst the notions of slavery, oppression and persecution of people had become unpalatable at this point in history, there was still a desire to maintain the gap in economic and political power between the former colonies and developed, wealthy, Western worlds and that which I have previously described as 'Other.' There continued to be a desire to keep the wealthy rich and the impoverished poor.

Kwame Nkrumah, the first prime minister and president of Ghana following its independence from colonial rule by Britain in 1957, was penalised heavily for speaking out against the systems of neo-colonialism following the first publication of his work *Neo-colonialism: The*

Last Stage of Imperialism, with \$25 million of American 'aid' being withdrawn as a result. He argued that:

The essence of neo-colonialism is that the State which is subject to it is, in theory, independent and has all the trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from the outside (Nkrumah, 1967, xi).

Nkrumah reasoned that foreign capital and investment was not for altruistic means, but far from it, as a new method of exploitation. He argues that conquest, occupation and force may have been withdrawn, but neo-colonialism is a much more insidious and dangerous method of control because it masquerades as freedom and independence whilst continuing to shape and influence trade, policy, the economy and even culture.

Despite these works and their cautions, neo-colonialism has continued not only to exist, but to thrive. Chomsky, originally writing on neo-colonialism in the 1960s, returned to the topic in the preface to his 2015 edition of the book *Year 501: The Conquest Continues*. He talked of the phenomenon fuelling the legitimisation of neo-colonialism as one that has existed since the earliest days of colonisation; denialism. Referring not to Africa, but to America, he explains how the earliest Europeans 'discovering' the Western hemisphere denied the prior existence of peoples, civilisations and cultures when declaring their discovery in order to make the land their own. Rather than seeing their enslavement and prosecution of the 80 million people already present, they justified their actions on a humanitarian basis, civilising and saving the "savages" they found. He continues to consider how the denialism that facilitated these acts was still at work then, during the 1960s to justify actions during the Cuban missile crisis, during the US-UK invasion of Iraq and, I would strongly argue, even more so today in the continued subjugation the South by the North under the Trump administration.

The constructs of neo-colonialism outlined here are utilised within this thesis to explore the ways in which teacher-led professional development programmes delivered by Western teachers to Ugandan teachers might be considered a form of neo-colonialism (research question two). If this enterprise (knowingly or otherwise) maintains the superior/inferior dichotomy between the West and Ugandan teachers, it must be questioned whether it has any worth. What Chomsky refers to as 'denialism,' Adichie (2016) might more generously refer to as a 'single story' of 'well-meaning pity' whereby the Western teachers may be unable to

recognise the pre-existing expertise and knowledge of Ugandan teachers in their own educational contexts.

Neo-colonialism then can be understood as the use of economic or political powers to influence or control a 'developing' country in lieu of direct military control as would have been the case in formerly colonised locations. This can be an overt and intentional practice, but can also occur subtly and as a result of what many authors (Fisher, 2017; Gopal, 2014; Eze, 2015; Matthews, 2017; Thiong'o, 1998) have also explored as the struggle of former colonies to achieve decolonisation in the broader sense; once power, land and politics is returned to the colony, how do its people and rulers achieve what Thiong'o (1998) and Gopal (2014) refer to as "decolonisation of / decolonising the mind?" There can be an enduring belief that some structures, customs, languages or cultural practices are best maintained in the traditions of the former colony, making it impossible to break the influence of and power that they held despite the official status of decolonisation. A further, more subliminal process of decolonisation must then take place, but is this ever achievable? I also explore the extent to which this is possible in light of a programme that perpetuates Western models of education in non-Western contexts.

There is an acknowledgement that there is a wider global context within which such concepts exist, there is a 'new internationalism' that others might now, and in a neo-liberal sense, refer to as 'globalisation' (Ball, Goodson and Maguire, 2007; Ball, 2012a; Ball, 2012b; Dale and Robertson, 2009; Young 2009), whereby the 'geopolitical space' is, as Bhabha suggests, 'interrogated and reinitiated.' However, if such an interrogation is not evident, what then exists? Bhabha here idealises the position that there should be an ongoing discourse of reflection and change that occurs, which may well be the case at an academic level, but there is, within this research, an intention to interrogate the evidence to support this position at a grass roots level, within the practice of teacher-led CPD. Post-colonialism for Bhabha exists always within the tension of neo-colonialism and at times, it is the convergence of the two and those same interstices that enables a discourse to emerge:

Postcolonial critique bears witness to those countries and communities – in the North and the South, urban and rural – constituted, if I may coin a phrase, 'otherwise than modernity'. Such cultures of a postcolonial contra-modernity may be contingent to modernity, discontinuous or in contention with it, resistant to its oppressive, assimilationist technologies; but they also deploy the cultural hybridity of their

borderline conditions to 'translate', and therefore reinscribe, the social imaginary of both metropolis and modernity (Bhabha, 1996, p.108).

Within the data analysis section of this thesis, I will consider to what extent this complex relationship between modernity and that which might be considered as Bhabha terms it, 'otherwise than modernity' do interact and what that interaction looks like. Drawing on the categories Bhabha alludes to above, I ask, is there the potential to re-inscribe the educational modernity within Western culture or does the imbalance of power result in the resistance to its oppression failing to take place? Bhabha (1994, p.30) suggests that 'there is a sharp growth in a new Anglo-American nationalism which increasingly articulates its economic and military power in political acts that express a neo-imperialist disregard for the independence and autonomy of peoples and places in the Third World.' There is an underlying enquiry within this thesis to consider whether this same disregard also occurs within the education sector, whether education is also now an arena in which Western schools of thought, particularly those from the British and American cultures, dominate the global landscape; more specifically in those areas that make up the former subjugated colonies.

Key to answering this question and to responding to my research questions will be the concepts of 'mimicry' and 'hybridity.'

Mimicry is used by Bhabha to 'describe the theatrical imitation of socio-cultural customs by the colonised.' (Fay and Haydon, 2017, p.75). It is the replication of behaviours and practices belonging to the colonisers within the colony by the colonised in order to conform to and fit in with that which is believed to be proper. It can be seen as a narrowing of the gap between that which is Other and that which is considered normative. Bhabha explains that 'colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite' (Bhabha, 1994, p.122).

Examples of mimicry are multitudinous and have the potential to vary broadly between each and every aspect of a cultural identity; religious, political administration, food, fashion, language and so on. Though I have been able to source little previous research in this area, it could be argued that educational practices, policy and pedagogy are not exempt from mimicry either. McLaren argues that:

...greater affinities now exist among economies of affect and modes of discursive production under capitalism (through both direct and indirect forms of non-economic

legitimizing symbols produced within the cultural sphere of capitalism such as popular national discourses and their articulation to state apparatuses, the military establishment, and institutions of commerce). Larry Grossberg (1989b:33) refers to this condition as the 'struggle for the 'natural' and 'national' authority of conservative discourses (McLaren, 2002, p.175).

If the discourses surrounding the military and commerce can be affected in this way, it is not unreasonable to suggest that education is also subject to such a discourse. Proponents of educational practices in the West may consciously believe that imitation of these practices in developing countries would improve outcomes for education. Equally, even those who are questioning the effectiveness of their own practices in their own contexts, might consider them to be a better alternative than that which they believe is non-existent in Other cultures or locations. This, at best offers an opportunity for 'hybridity,' a term Bhabha uses to 'describe the mixed nature of supposedly 'original' or 'authentic' identities' (Fay and Haydon, 2017, p.74), or at worst becomes a neo-colonial imposition of the unwanted and unhelpful characteristics of an alien system in an ill-suited context.

The concept of Hybridity describes the transitional interactions between those identified as the colonisers (those in power and able to enact change upon the less dominant culture) and the colonized (those subjugated and expected to change). It has also been suggested that it is the hybridity that both parties are capable of that leads to a 'third space' in which change can occur, or at least has the potential to occur, but which has not yet been fully realised. (Ghasemi, Sasani and Nemati, 2017, Kapoor, 2008; Ika and Wagner, 2009). However, these relationships between two parties are often witnessed through bodies of literature, rather than lived experience. One example of this would be Ashcroft's 'Caliban's Voice,' in which the author explains, 'this space is also a transcultural space, a 'contact zone,' . . . that space in which cultural identity develops. . . . the space of postcolonial transformation' (Ashcroft, 2009, p.108). However, does this same potential for transformation occur in less figurative contexts? Are 'actors' from and living in different cultures able to enter into such a space in order to develop their identities in the same ways as their literary counterparts? I explore this in relation to the teachers participating in the CPD Programme, all of whom are from different cultures, but who do form a definite 'contact zone' by virtue of their interactions with each other. I consider how their identities are developed; whether they might too be subject to a transformation and whether such a transformation can in any way lead to decolonisation.

Kalua (2009, p.25) suggests that Bhabha is able to 'contextualize the vexed nature of the postcolonial condition and provide a counterpoint to identity issues,' but also cautions that there is a considerable disconnect between the ways in which identity is perceived by those writing from a Western viewpoint and the ways in which 'Africans,' understand such terms:

It must be made clear that the concept of the fluid nature of identity has not yet penetrated the social, political or popular consciousness of the Africans (mostly black) who inhabit the geographical landmass called Africa. Thus, for many people, a true and pure African identity is not only possible but realizable, even in today's globalized and globalizing world. But as I argue, invoking the term 'Africa' suggests a fixity of underlying motif remains the opposite: the shifting nature of African identity (Kalua, 2009, p25).

In this respect, I acknowledge that the placing of rural Uganda within this wider 'African' context is not a simple matter of geographical location. With it so too comes the presumption of a fixed identity, which, as Kalua illustrates is wholly unrealistic. There is a constant and irrevocable 'shifting' of identity that must be understood when exploring the interstices between the two cultures and their models of education. Whilst this could be arguably true of all cultures, when it is acknowledged that identity and cultures are not stable, nor static constructs, this is arguably even more the case when reflecting on those identities of 'developing' countries and in particular continents, that are striving to shake off their 'third' world status. Dependency theorists (who would ascribe to the notion that the peripheral poor are maintained as such in order to maintain the affluent metropole or core) such as A.G. Frank (2002), S. Amin (1974) and A. Emmanuel (1972) would argue that it has served, and perhaps continues to serve the self-interest of wealthier countries to maintain the disadvantages of such countries, that they have 'effectively inhibited the development of poorer nations in favour of maintaining these advantages' (Weber, 2014, p.238).

Kalua (2009, p.26) suggests that Africa is, 'a shifting sign that bears the 'traces' of the Other or Others.' He suggests that there is an 'equivocality surrounding the image' of the sign, but that it is, nevertheless, unable to be unaffected or altered by its interactions with the 'encroaching capital modernity.' This leads to questions about the necessity for the system of education, an ever expanding, globalised phenomenon, to affect and alter teaching and learning in the African context in order to enable entrance into this global market. Is there any alternative to this or must the entire continent assimilate to survive? It is possible that this is too simple a

reading; the apparent assimilation may not only be an imposition of cultural practice on one culture by another, but additionally the way in which an identity of a formally colonised place and 'race' are understood when previous notions of identity that established them both as Other are broken down and become the same or similar to those who formerly colonised them.

Kalua, alluding to Said (1933), explains:

Gone are the binary oppositions of the nationalist and imperialist enterprise. Instead we begin to sense that old authority cannot simply be replaced by new authority, but that new alignments made across borders, types, nations, and essences are coming into view, and it is those new alignments that now provoke and challenge the fundamentally and static notion of identity (Kalua, 2009, p.29).

Whilst this can appear a positive resistance of the previously imposed cultural identities from a bygone era of colonialism where only binaries existed, it is perhaps also important to note that whilst colonial and imperialist enterprises might be gone and the old authority may not have been 'simply replaced,' there are those that would suggest it has been replaced by both a neoliberal agenda and the globalisation of education. Barakoska (2014) suggests, globalization according to Albrow refers to 'all these processes by which people of the world are integrated into a single world society, global society (Albrow, 1990:9),' whilst Kacowicz (2007) debates the merits of globalisation and its ability to perpetuate inequality or deliver equality. This study also provides some evidence towards how the discourse surrounding education in Africa, and more specifically in rural Uganda and its evolution is experienced, the impact it may have on those in Uganda and those working with Ugandan teachers from further afield. I consider whether education has followed the path of generating a national identity as suggested here and becomes a fluid reflection of external influences, as Kalua suggests, or whether the pursuit of the African identity has resulted in the adaptation of Western pedagogy that is at odds with establishing an independent purpose-built education system.

As a counterbalance to these arguments, it must also be considered that, as Bhabha argued, the influences of cultures on individuals are not only examples of mimicry, but are also examples of hybridity:

Private and public, past and present, the psyche and the social develop an interstitial intimacy. It is an intimacy that questions binary divisions through which such spheres

of social experience are often spatially opposed... a hybridity, a difference 'within,' a subject that inhabits the rim of an 'in-between' reality (Bhabha, 1994, p.13).

Hybridity then, suggests that there are no pure identities that operate discreetly from all else and further than this, suggests that when two opposing constructs or cultures meet, neither remains unchanged. This concept was further refined:

The very concepts of homogenous national cultures, the consensual or contiguous transmission of historical traditions, or 'organic' ethnic communities—as the grounds of cultural comparativism—are in a profound process of redefinition (Bhabha, 2013, p.107).

As a part of this redefinition, there is an acceptance of a constant and ever-transitioning state of flux within which cultures and identities exist. The trope of a Western identity has and continues to be shaped by a never-ending expanse of influences, not least of which would be those within what might be described as its borders, but also those influences at the very perimeters at the fringes of its geographical locations; what it is to be Western arguably becomes increasingly limitless as we move ever further towards global identities.

Bhabha suggests that the cultures of such 'imagined communities,' much like the imagined constructs of the West/Orient, North/South, developed/developing, and their impact upon each other are manifold; not only in the creation of hybrid constructs rather than 'pure' cultures, but also in bringing national identities simultaneously further into and out of emphasis. For some, panicked by the loss of a national identity, 'increasingly, 'national' cultures are being produced from the perspective of disenfranchised minorities,' whilst others are content to move into the more fluid space 'beyond culture:'

Being in the 'beyond' of culture is to inhabit an intervening space. But to dwell 'in the beyond' is also to be part of a revisionary time, a return to the present to redescribe our cultural contemporaneity; to touch the future on its hither side (Bhabha, 2013, p.108).

Bhabha's models and Kalua's interpretation of them here resonate significantly within the work of Zygmunt Bauman's dualisms of Community and Identity (Bauman, 2001) (Bauman and Vecchi, 2004) and that of Liquid Modernity (Bauman, 2000). These concepts have been useful in the analysis of data gathered during the field work portion of this thesis and in the

interrogation of the autoethnographic text. Bauman explores the benefits of belonging within a community, both on a micro and macro scale:

In a community we can count on each other's good will. If we stumble and fall, others will help us to stand on our feet again. No one will poke fun at us, no one will ridicule our clumsiness and rejoice in our misfortune...Our duty, purely and simply, is to help each other, and so our right, purely and simply, is to expect that the help we need will be forthcoming (Bauman, 2001, p.2).

It is a reasonable and justifiable position that both an individual and a nation might adopt in seeking out membership to a national and global community. Especially given the fraught and conflict filled historical context of Uganda, as previously detailed, the pursuit of a globally compliant system (of education, in this case) easily recognisable from without and within the Western spheres of policy and political discourse, may entice because it has the same connotations of safety, security and reliability. However, does such a nirvana truly exist?

Bauman suggests not:

In short, 'community' stands for the kind of world which is not, regrettably, available to us – but which we would dearly wish to inhabit and which we hope to repossess...'Community' is nowadays another name for paradise lost-but one to which we dearly hope to return (Bauman, 2001, p.3).

It could be argued and is by Bauman that this hope and promise that motivates people in developing and developed 'post-industrial' countries, perhaps not always aware of the multiple conflicts and dissatisfaction of those already within the aspirational community, is a fallacy. As many would and do attest the systems of education in the US, UK and wider Western world are flawed and failing; facing issues of cuts to funding, narrowing curriculum, over-emphasis on assessment, increases to teacher accountability, workload and stress and many others that are constantly debated and contested. Davis explores the binaries of globalisation in similar terms:

...the purgatorial neomedieval utopia-dystopia of globalisation... where the utopia of liquidity, fluidity, movement, and dynamism is forever collapsing back into a dystopia of solidity, stasis, incarceration, and immobility which in turn generates new utopic fantasies of taking flight and so on ad nauseam (Davis, 2013, p.58).

In spite of this, it could be countered that those same educational debates exist because there is a community with which to have that dialogue and unless a nation becomes a part of that community and adopts those globalised practices, how can it have a voice in that dialogue? The interpretations of this study and the responses to research questions will add to the discussion of the communities established and their utility in both the Ugandan and wider global context.

There is, conversely, a 'price to be paid for the privilege' of belonging within a community. Bauman suggests that the price is often 'invisible' all the time that community remains within the dream of community itself:

The price is paid in the currency of freedom, variously called 'autonomy', 'right to self-assertion', 'right to be yourself'... Missing community means missing security; gaining community, if it happens, would soon mean missing freedom (Bauman, 2001, p.4-5).

In the field of education, the price is often paid in the abilities of schools being able to teach their own curriculums for example, when located within the safety of a community of national and international standards. These standards, intended to help provide a like for like measure across individual schools and, ultimately, international study provide the security of a measurable educational output, yet often place a stranglehold on the curriculums offered, the subjects taught and even the pedagogies adopted (Buchanan 2015; Arnold 2015; Greany and Waterhouse 2016; Stronach 2010; Stronach et al. 2002). Anwarrudin (2014, p.163) would argue that such a price is too steep, resulting in 'epistemicide,' the destruction of any indigenous knowledge base and replacement with that knowledge which is privileged by the dominant culture.

Davis (2013, p.2) explains this through the use of Bauman's 'liquid modernity,' exploring the link between modernity and the 'social processes of globalisation and individualisation.' He offers an explanation for the ways in which ethnicity is understood in light of Bauman's work:

Capitalism is never stable and nor are the images of the Other that it exploits. We now very easily view multiple Others through media. The Other is viewed without meeting him or her and projections onto that 'other' can occur as needed. Liquidity increases simply because of media demand for content. Images change frequently because before too long the media will see the need to move onto something else, to a different Other and to the creation of a new set of projections. (Davis, 2013, p.126).

This 'Othering,' likely referring to the same 'Other' as was previously highlighted in the analysis of Bhabha's work (Kalua 2009), points to an uncomfortable realisation that needs must be discussed. How are the identities of the Other formed in the minds of the Western teachers of a teacher to teacher CPD programme? It may be easy to lure oneself into believing that there will be no racial prejudices when undertaking work in an African context because participants do not identify themselves as racist in terms of conscious, negative discrimination against peoples on the basis of their racial characteristics. However, it is possible to consider that there is a much subtler form of racialisation that occurs; the conversations that need to take place might be perceived as too difficult to have because 'no one knows how to talk to anyone else' (Bauman, 2000, p.107). This contrasting concern, that those who conduct work or research in cultures different to their own, particularly cultures belonging to Othered peoples will have to 'navigate feelings of guilt and privilege' (DeLuca and Batts Maddox, 2015, p284), is also long debated (Josselson, 1996), and many have set out to caution narrative researchers in particular about the effect of viewing and writing Others.

The viewing of Others through the media is taken not only in the more traditional forms of text, be that academic writing or the media; newspapers, magazine articles and television, but also now includes the internet and social media platforms. What are the media images of Africa as a whole, of Uganda and of education in these places? Often, it is suggested, they are described as negative, 'parading of malnourished and naked African children in front of cameras and images of lions and gorillas in the jungle.' (Mheta, 2015.)

The identities subsequently and often subconsciously generated are negative; in need, desperate and dependent. It begs for deliverance and rescue from poverty and dire circumstance. This is what could be seen as justification for the echoes of missionary-like imposition of pedagogy and policy. Cynicism would construe that once organisations, charities, NGOs etc. have bought into the identities perpetuated within the media, it becomes not only difficult, but incongruent to divorce themselves from those identities. Breaking down such identities would be self-destructive. There could, therefore be a (conscious or sub-conscious) suppression of any new or evolving identity. That is not to suggest that poverty no longer exists or that people within Uganda or Africa as a whole do not suffer, but it is not the entirety of that nation nor its culture, nor its collective identity. There is a danger in such a 'single story' of catastrophe:

The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story. . The consequence of the single story is this: it robs people of dignity. It makes our recognition of our equal humanity difficult. It emphasizes how we are different rather than how we are similar (Adichie, 2016, p.87).

The acceptance of what Adichie describes as a 'single story' of any culture is to accept the binaries that Bhabha (1994) cautioned against. In the same way as the colonialist developed the singular narrative of the Other, there is a new, media driven singular narrative that can be further used to 'disposes and malign.' This is why in the following chapter, a full discussion of the choice to adopt an autoethnographic methodology is essential, to position this research within the framework of a single story, but to recognise it for being just that.

Policy borrowing across different contexts has been the subject of interrogations of the neoliberalist agenda within 'Western' education market place for authors such as Stephen Ball (2003, 2012b) for some time. He suggests 'Policy itself is now bought and sold, it is a commodity and a profit opportunity, and there is a growing global market in policy ideas' (Ball, 2012b, p.23). If there is a profit to be made in the selling of policy that is outwardly viewed as positive, yielding high standards of education, it is only logical that other locations might wish to buy-in and adopt such policies. However, this assumes that the policy being sold is the key to success and equates to improved outcomes for the recipients who receive this diet of bought-in policy. As an opponent of much of the policy that my work as a teacher makes me accountable to and having experienced the perils of belonging to a culture of accountability that often becomes 'policy hysteria,' (Stronach, 2010), I cannot help but question the desire to assimilate the 'conformative' nature of such policies; policies that often fail in their intent from the moment of their inception.

The global market, having stretched to Africa might give rise to the potential for an optimist to suggest potential for a dialogic model whereby educational policy could yield a cross-cultural, global discourse, however this is not corroborated by Nguyen et.al who examine this in an Asian context:

...the development of a pedagogy which aims to meet global (i.e. Western) requirements and international (i.e. Western) standards tends to militate against a

pedagogy that aims to meld the prerequisites for effective learning within relevant parameters that typify a particular cultural niche (Nguyen et.al, 2009, p.111).

The imposition of Western standards and Western pedagogies that are in direct opposition to the cultural contexts in which they attempt to operate do little to promote diversification. Rather they simply contribute to a hierarchy of knowledge, where one form of knowledge is privileged over another, this 'reflects an epistemic monoculture based on Western neoliberal capitalist worldviews' (Anwaruddin, 2014, p.163).

There is an assumption inherently present in attempts to replicate Western education outside of the West; that Western education is and should be privileged because it is better than anything that could or might precede or coexist alongside it. Employing a Rancièrian reading, Anwaruddin (2009, p.151) argues that this privileging could be used 'not only to oppress, but also as a form of 'emancipation' where powerful groups use their own knowledge to 'empower' the oppressed, to 'improve' schools, and to 'modernize' developing countries.' However, this is not a boast of a successful emancipatory model. Using the World Bank as an example, he further argues:

In its efforts to 'develop' the education systems, the Bank creates a discourse of incapacity, an incapacity of the developing countries to improve their (own) education systems. This discourse stultifies those-to-be-developed because 'the dynamics of emancipation [must] involve an affirmation of capacity' (Rancièrè, 2007a, p. 565) ... The very notion of empowering the Other denies 'the equality of intelligence [which] is the common bond of humankind, the necessary and sufficient condition for a society of men to exist (Rancièrè, 1987/1991, p. 73)' (Anwaruddin, 2014, p.151).

This sort of analysis problematises both the borrowing of policy and the intended support offered by social enterprises, such as the one I was part-taking in when capturing the image that led to the interrogation of the discourse that is outlined above. Yet further tensions are thus exposed; if such projects serve only to further marginalise and to reinforce the Othering of developing countries, is it even possible to suggest that they have any purpose or place in the educational landscape of these countries, despite their positive intentions?

One final concept that I will introduce before concluding the post-colonial section of this Literature Review, is that many of the theoretical perspectives considered thus far rely upon binaries; West and Other, neo-colonialism and decolonisation, community and identity. This

could be considered an over-simplification of the complexities experienced in the Ugandan context in which this research took place. It is not that I wish to suggest that each of these concepts are mutually exclusive, in fact, I will consider how they are simultaneously evident throughout the autoethnographic text and finding sections. What I will explore is what might be referred to as a 'fissure' in each of these structures. Drawing primarily on the later work of Michel Foucault, Olssen (2014) explores the ways in which complexities such as these might exist:

Other characteristics of complex systems are that they do not operate near equilibrium; the relationships between components are non-linear and dynamic; elements do not have fixed positions; the relationships between elements are not stable; and there are always more possibilities than can be actualized (Olssen, 2014, p51).

This helps to explain the ways that moments of both neo-colonialism and decolonisation might co-exist in a programme such as this. Romi (2010, p. 347), again drawing upon Foucault, explores this further, in describing what could be recognised as a 'post-post-colonial moment,' whereby the world 'can no longer be "conceived solely as a matter of one-way western imperialism. It must be understood as a process of mutual, if uneven, infiltration, with the West permeating the rest and vice-versa" (Inda and Rosaldo 2002, p.22).' In this sense, the moments that are captured within the data and analysis of this thesis represent chances, opportunities for events, behaviours, beliefs to be interpreted as reinforcing colonial ideal or decolonisation, hierarchies of power or dialogues of equality, discourses of incapacity or emancipation. Referencing Foucault, Olssen explains:

Foucault (1998b, p. 366) reinforces the importance of chance: 'The present as the recurrence of difference, as repetition giving voice to difference, affirms at once the totality of chance. If being always declares itself in the same way, it is not because being is one but because the totality of chance is affirmed in the single dice throw of the present. (Olssen, 2014, p.52).'

3.3 Educational Theory

Whilst I have begun to discuss education in the generic sense above, I have yet to situate the research conducted within a broader educational discourse. This is needed for two reasons; firstly, to locate my own ontological positioning on education, acknowledging this

positionality within the study, and, secondly, to consider the influences and expectations that a teacher to teacher CPD programme might be subject to. Moreover, it is necessary to explore the potential benefits of educational and CPD in particular, in order to answer my final research question, can Western led CPD programmes have a positive impact?

There is no shortage of evidence that suggests education is intrinsically linked to student, and indeed, national outcomes. Education has constantly been high on global and local development agenda owing to the positive correlation drawn between education and economic, political, and cultural development (Chabbott & Ramirez, 2000, p.163) and it has been reported that there has been considerable progress in access to education globally following the adoption of the Millennium Development Goals and Education for All agenda (UNESCO, 2016). However, the intrinsically positive association and assumption of a common understanding of what types of Education are required and how its implementation should be best supplied is less clear.

Education is a multi-faceted, diverse and highly contestable notion. Whilst some consider education to be purely academic, others consider education to be something less easily defined that may encompass other forms of knowledge, such as practical, manual or dexterous skills, cultural understanding or life skills, for example. In reviewing the American education system, The Journal of Developmental Education (2015) points to a shift in schools' understanding of education:

Formal education, previously conceived as a privilege and path to enlightenment, became a requirement for getting a job with decent wages. Schools also altered their goal: rather than to promote a passion for learning and developing the mind, education led to a job that would augment the nation's economic power. Recent educational policy and programs have furthered the 'job training' focus in education and have added extensive testing as well as competition/comparison of performance of individual's over time, between schools, and among nations of the world (The Journal of Developmental Education, 2015, p.36).

This shift, that is often resisted and viewed as negative, may be evident in the US and in many other countries; the UK and Europe, in particular, but this is not necessarily the same driving force in Ugandan schools of thought. Education is understood to have much wider purposes,

such as providing for young families and reducing early marriages and subsequently reducing the infant mortality rate:

The government and its development partners should ensure universal access to education beyond the primary and secondary levels and sensitize communities to the importance of sending all their children, particularly girls, to school. This will reduce early marriages and empower mothers with both the knowledge and the means to give quality care to their children. Education will also provide mothers better opportunities for higher paying jobs thus enabling them to better provide for their infant and young children (Kaberuka et. al., 2017, p.639).

These motivations for education demonstrate that there can be significantly more to education than simply that of improved earning potentials and that education can, quite literally be the difference between life and death for some. To examine this sense of a broader purpose, there is also a necessity to examine attitudes to education from a further, cultural perspective. Tumuheki et. al. (2016) explored motivations towards specifically higher education and point to an 'extrinsic' meaning that 'goes beyond the anticipated rewards such as money as it is also embedded within the sociocultural context of the African society.' This is further expounded as the writers make a clear distinction between the pronoun use of 'we' as inherently African, whilst the use of 'I' belongs to the Western context:

...the impact of sociocultural factors such as kinship, (extended) family, gender and age on an individual's life in Africa cannot be underestimated (Mbiti, 1975, 1990). This is because in Africa, a person never existed as an individual entity but as part of a whole (Lekoko & Modise, 2011), as illustrated by such African beliefs as 'I am because we are and since we are therefore I am' (Mbiti, 1975, p. 108). And because an individual does not exist alone, (s)he is expected to play a role in the interdependence of existence where both individuals and communities have obligations to one another, including the dead and the yet-to-be-born (Mbiti, 1990). This strand of thought is so strong that some African scholars, e.g. Lekoko and Modise (2011) have come to distinguish the usage of the notions We and I when referring to the self, with emphasis that the 'We' concept is best suited for the African context and the 'I' concept to the Western context where an individual is viewed as a separate entity (Preece, 2013) (Tumuheki et. al., 2016, p.103).

There is here a clear demonstration of the distance between that which is considered to be the purpose of education across different cultures. Whilst it is clearly impractical to suggest that there are singular purposes in either respect, Western or otherwise, there is most certainly a suggestion of different priorities for education emerging from within this literature from the previous Journal of Developmental Education example, an American text that features more neoliberalist rhetoric and nods to the globalisation of education in order to make students more employable.

A further rationale for these vastly different attitudes to education can be intuited from the writing of researchers such as Helen Penn. Penn suggests that these priorities are altered by necessity because those in poorer locations have very different stakes from those born into affluent areas:

...what is unarguable is that young children suffer disproportionately from these inequalities... Poor children are vulnerable in every sense; their health, their access to education, their safety in dangerous environments, their exposure to war. In short, their well-being is at stake (Penn, 2005, p.1).

Drawing on statistics from UNICEF, Penn describes how unequal the stakes are; over 100 million children in the global South were then still without education, 13 million children under 15 were orphans and approximately 12 million were homeless. Securing accurate information to base these figures on was difficult for Penn in 2005 and sourcing accurate data for the children in education in Uganda has proven equally difficult for me. For example, according to World Bank data (World Bank, 2017), since the Universal Primary Education (UPE) policy was implemented in 1997 in Uganda where there has been an increase in the enrolment of children from School enrolment, primary (% gross) in 1990 of 70.5 to over 101.083% in 2015. This figure makes very little numerical sense until it is considered that the total enrolment in primary education, regardless of age, is expressed as a percentage of the population of official primary education age. Therefore, the percentage of students enrolled can exceed 100% due to the inclusion of over-aged and under-aged students because of early or late school entrance and grade repetition. This also assumes that an accurate record of all students enrolled have been legitimately recorded as a member of the population, which may not necessarily be the case and the criteria for students to be counted as 'enrolled' is unclear. Students may enrol, but not attend. Whilst these figures do offer an indication of trends, it is not possible to be entirely confident in their accuracy.

The question here, then becomes what is the purpose of this data? If I, in my limited experience as a statistician, am able to quickly find fault in its validity, why is this data collected, retained and presented on a global forum? Linking back to the purposes of education, there seems to be a further element of globalisation at play here; all countries are expected to provide numerical data despite the reality that not all countries keep such data in such high esteem and despite not necessarily having the logistical capabilities to obtain it. Its value is perhaps more a form of cultural capital, to borrow a term from Bourdieu (1990), than meaningful measurement of progress.

The debate regarding the purpose of education is further subject to complexity when considering models of learning according to various educational theorists. Many theorists refer to one model of teaching as now being out of date and another of greater impact (Rodriguez, V., 2012; Power, A. & L. Holland, 2018.). For example, the 'empty vessel' model of learning is now often referred to as archaic or out of date:

The empty vessel theory of learning is founded on the notion of transmission, such that the teacher transmits information to the student (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; van Geert & Fischer, 2009). In this model the teacher as exporter (i.e., person, television, computer) is a learning tool that can be filled with any information necessary for the learner's knowledge acquisition (Rodriguez, 2012. P180).

Many researchers are now claiming that teaching has moved on from such methods and suggesting that teachers now play a role more akin to that of a facilitator than a font of knowledge that is to be transferred from the bountiful minds of the teacher to the empty receptacles of their students:

... "knowledge" is not something to be transmitted as an object that exists independently. Instead, "knowledge" emerges through the interactions between the learner and his or her context (Battro, Fischer, & L'ena, 2008; Fischer & Rose, 2001; Fischer, Rose, & Rose, 2007; van Geert & Steenbeek, 2005). (Rodriguez, 2012, p.180).

These learning theories are of relevance in two ways in terms of this research. Firstly, because it is necessary to consider whether these same changes in views are evident across all participants in the teacher led CPD programme when adopting practices to share in teaching Ugandan students. If this change in pedagogical underpinning is not shared by all, the methods of instruction in the Ugandan schools and those in other locations may not be

congruent. A consideration of whether there is a common understanding of how students learn across different cultures must be made. The 'empty vessel' may be considered archaic by some, but not necessarily by all. This is an exemplification of an issue that is played out across a wide variety of taken for granted educational jargon, as referenced in my introduction. Terms such as Assessment for Learning, Peer Learning, Group Work, SEND, Differentiation and countless others form part of the vernacular of many Western teachers, but do they all agree on one shared definition? Moreover, are these terms meaningful in a non-Western context? It may be assumed that because they are prevalent in one part of the world, they will be likewise in rural Uganda, but this is not necessarily the case, as the autoethnographic text will explore.

Secondly, it is relevant in terms of the ways in which pedagogues interact with each other. Although teachers might interact with their students in such a way to facilitate more independent forms of learning, it has been suggested that this model is not always applied to learning between teachers or professionals when they are training one another or when any form of adult learning might occur. Power (2018) explores this in relation to adult learners undertaking studies in midwifery and, from previous experience of receiving training as a teacher and adult student, it has been my own experience that there is a greater tendency to assume that an adult learner is more capable than a younger child or of absorbing large quantities of information, so perhaps such methods are not so consistently applied to adults.

Whilst Power (2018, p.125) suggests three models of learning for consideration, 'humanism (Maslow, 1981; Rogers 1996); andragogy (Knowles et al., 1998) and experiential learning (Kolb, 1984),' it is necessary to limit the exploration of the various possible examples of learning theory to perhaps just one that is of central importance to my own understanding and beliefs regarding educational practices in order to maintain the focus of this research, whilst acknowledging that there may be others that are worthy of consideration.

My own epistemological position on effective teaching and learning is most closely allied with that of Jacques Rancière's, as presented in 'The Ignorant Schoolmaster' (1991). In this text, Rancière presents the plight of Joseph Jacotot, a French lecturer from the early nineteenth century who, whilst forced into exile, found himself teaching Flemish students who were unable to speak French, whilst he himself could speak no Flemish. From Jacotot's account of these experiences, Rancière distils lessons that can be learned on teaching and learning when the teacher is 'ignorant' and surmises that the students can indeed learn equally well, if not

more efficiently when the 'master' either cannot or will not 'transmit his knowledge to his students so as to bring them, by degrees, to his own level of expertise.' (Rancière, 1991, p.3). It is no coincidence that Rancière terms his teacher, the 'master.' Previous theorisation of learning adhering to the 'empty vessel' mode of transmission of knowledge most certainly privilege the teacher with his/her advanced knowledge in a position of power over their students and, whilst Rancière goes some considerable way towards addressing this power imbalance, there is not the complete rejection of the teacher as an authority figure, a skilled facilitator able to helping students to navigate their way through complex learning.

Rather than students and teachers adopting the designated 'superior' and 'inferior' identities, resulting in the teacher 'explicating' at the cost of 'stultification' of learners, a method of 'will' over intelligence is what Rancière believed would lead to more effective, deeper learning, stating that, 'One could learn by oneself and without a master explicator when one wanted to, propelled by one's own desire or by the constraint of the situation.' (Rancière, 1991. P12). This understanding of the importance of a student's willingness to learn has always resonated with my own teaching experience. I have witnessed countless students who have been very intelligent, but who have underperformed because they lack the desire to apply themselves to their studies, either because they dislike certain subjects within a narrow curriculum or simply because they do not fully believe, appreciate or understand the potential ramifications for later life of not obtaining qualifications in school subjects. I have also witnessed students, particularly those who are disadvantaged who are not the most naturally intelligent, nor born with innate academic abilities (and I would include myself in this category), but who have a real drive and desire to achieve success. This might be for any number of reasons; to live up to someone else's or their own expectations, to give them the opportunity to overcome adversity, to pursue a specific dream or even to prove wrong someone who said that they couldn't do it, but the uniting factor is that they really want to succeed; they have a 'will' to do so.

Rancière suggests that 'man is a will served by an intelligence' (Rancière, 1971, p.51), but there is a further step to his theory in that it is through the assertion of the student's own will and their choice to enter into a learning dynamic that 'emancipation' can be achieved, 'We will call the known and maintained difference of the two relations (will and intelligence) – the act of an intelligence obeying only itself even while it obeys another will – emancipation.' (Rancière, 1971, p.13). There are multiple possible meanings attached to the term 'emancipation;' It can be understood as the 'master' relinquishes his or her authority over the learner as an inherent right or product of social order, but it can also mean the learner is also 'set free' from the

confines of society that dictate the ability someone has to achieve academic success or to even transition from one walk of life to another. In both interpretations, there is a unifying concept, that power is moved from the teacher and from society to the individual learner. They are able to choose their own path in life and the extent to which they can obtain intelligence; be it in an academic sense, a skill set, applications to a specific form of labour, sport, arts or any other conceivable outlet. There is an assumption that all children are born with the ability to achieve any and everything that they might wish to with adequate support and it is the removal of such support and barriers to learning that our society creates that prevent people achieving their initial, equal potentials.

Anwaruddin (2014) referenced previously as a reference in post and neo-colonial thought is of further relevance here when exploring the work of Rancière as applied to systems of education in which he likens to the relationship between neo-colonialists and their 'inferior' students to that of a Master Explicator and reinforcing the Explicative order. He explains how data collected and research carried out by the World Bank 'denies the equality of intelligence' and 'creates an explicative order to legitimize its neoliberal capitalist ideologies and to establish a neo-colonial relationship' (p151).

If this Rancierian reading of the World Bank's role were to be agreed upon, it follows that a CPD programme designed to further the dominant educational ideologies of the West is arguably also be an act of stultification, rather than emancipation. However, this creates yet a further tension. Whilst Anwaruddin suggests that the privileging of Western knowledge is a part of a neo-colonial explicative order, he also counters that privilege can be used to empower and emancipate:

...privilege is used not only to oppress, but also as a form of 'emancipation' where powerful groups use their own knowledge to 'empower' the oppressed, to 'improve' schools, and to 'modernize' developing countries... In its efforts to 'develop' the education systems, the Bank creates a discourse of incapacity, an incapacity of the developing countries to improve their education systems. This discourse stultifies those-to-be-developed because 'the dynamics of emancipation [must] involve an affirmation of capacity (Rancière, 2007a, p. 565).' (Anwaruddin, 2014, p.151).

This makes the detachment between privileging different forms of knowledge and the oppression or emancipation of learners (in this case teachers undertaking CPD) challenging.

In order to be emancipated in Rancière's definition, emancipation (in the educational sense) is 'the act of an intelligence obeying only itself even while it obeys another will,' whilst in the generic sense, emancipation would be better understood as being freed from control by another, be they an individual or any legal, social or political restrictions as may be enforced by local, national or global cultures. Both definitions are relevant to the parameters of this study in terms of neo-colonial agenda and in terms of the educational process of CPD. Another troubling tension arises here; whilst it may be possible to view CPD programmes delivered by Western educators in a Ugandan context as neo-colonialism and having the potential to establish a discourse of incapacity for nations or even continents as a homogenised whole, it is also necessary to explore whether they are they able to facilitate emancipation on a personal, individual level for participants.

Whilst there are many arguments to be made surrounding the broader cultural implications of this CPD programme, Rancière's perspective offers an alternative lens through which to evaluate the usefulness of the programme and its ability to have a positive impact on individual participants.

To make explicit my own positionality, I am undecided on how fully I adhere to all aspects of Rancière's theory; I feel that from the moment of conception and perhaps even before, societal influences are at play in a deterministic sense, though it is possible for students to overcome such influences, if they have the will to do so, whilst acknowledging that there is perhaps a tipping point at which external influences can overpower individual wants and desires and this point is transient and variable for each individual. However, Rancière's commitment to 'universal teaching,' having the assumption that all students have the potential to learn, achieve and succeed, even though they may not have the will to do so is a paradigm that my own teaching practice has been located within. As an educator I have always felt that part of my purpose has not simply been to disseminate my own learning or 'intelligence' with students, but to help them locate their own 'will' to learn, so that they might achieve all that is possible. Rancière acknowledges that universal teaching is problematic and may never be pursued or adopted fully, but the attempt or pursuit of it will, he suggests, positively affect students.

Having now situated my own ontological position with regards to education and the beliefs I hold in regard to learning as a whole, it is now necessary to consider how this is relevant to this particular research study. There is a need to consider once again whether a model such as

this is congruent with the cultural context in which this study took place; whether the teachers I would encounter would align their views on teaching and learning with Rancière's theories as I have done here. However, there is also a need to explore this discourse further than that and to ask whether the teaching that occurred as a part of the teacher-led CPD model also adheres to such principles. Relationships between peers in a CPD context are akin to those of student and teacher in some ways, whereby one is intended to learn from another, and perhaps in a more learner to learner fashion in peer to peer relationships. I also considered whether there was equality in power between the participants. Critically, in a programme such as that which is the subject of this research, where knowledge is to be exchanged, it is necessary to evaluate the dynamics of the relationships, which, in this study, cannot be divorced from the post and potentially neo-colonial context already explored. In the analysis of the data collected, it was essential to consider the relationships between the participants, whether there was and could ever be a dialogical model of learning where all participants knowledge and views are weighted as equally valid, and whereby there is an 'emancipation' of all participants who are applying their own will to enhance their pedagogical intelligence. Equally, it was essential to identify where there was a transmission model whereby knowledge moves in a one-directional hierarchy, from those who are considered 'master explicators,' imparting their knowledge into the empty vessels, subjugated as recipients of that learning which someone else has arbitrated to be useful.

Rancière is frequently connected with another French theorist, Michael Foucault, (Simons and Masschelein, 2010; Błesznowski, 2012; Perret, 2015). Exploring the ways in which power is expressed and experienced from an educational perspective, both between students and teachers and between teachers effortlessly links these two theorists together, but given the further dynamic of post-colonial theory that become inextricable within this research, it would be remiss not to acknowledge a Foucauldian nexus:

Education may well be, as of right, the instrument whereby every individual, in a society like our own, can gain access to any kind of discourse. But we well know that in its distribution, in what it permits and in what it prevents, it follows the well-trodden battle-lines of social conflict. Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it (Foucault, 1972, p.227).

Foucault suggests that education is the 'instrument' through which individuals, be they students or teachers, gain access to discourse. Power belongs to those who have a voice within the discourse of a society, but more than this, power belongs ultimately to those who decide upon the discourse which individuals will be given a voice in which to communicate within that discourse, once they are considered educated. In relation to this study, it is therefore further necessary to consider whether the adoption of Western/Northern CPD input is a necessary education that former colonial or developing countries believe or are made to believe to be necessary to receive in order to become engaged in a more global discourse. According to Foucault, entry into discourse is essential for individuals to be empowered and so to it may be for cultures to enter into global discourse, whether to reinforce that discourse or to question it:

'Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart (Foucault, 1998, p.100).

Drawing on such theories from Foucault, two South African authors discuss the potential for Foucault's theory in response to instructionist modes of teaching, closely aligned once again to Rancière's method of explication, a teaching strategy not questioned here, which may be indicative of an acceptance of these modes more widely in the continent, though that cannot be intuited from this article alone. However, Letseka and Pitsoe (2013, p.26) combine the Foucauldian notions of power with the earlier reference to Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, suggesting that the power of the teacher in such an 'instructionist classroom... qualifies as 'habitus' and can be perceived as a set of socialised norms. It plays a central role in societal power relations, as this provides the means for a noneconomic form of domination and hierarchy.' If this is the case, then so too might the ownership of pedagogical knowledge and insight be perceived as habitus, just as the data on World Bank league tables, and so too becomes a way in which formerly voiceless cultures their countries come to find their voice in a broader discourse. This may then be a positive exchange of power in receipt of commodifiable knowledge, 'the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it' (Foucault, 1982, p.277), but at what cost to that culture? How much of its cultural identity is nullified in order for it to be assimilated into the discourse and does entry into this discourse earn greater agency or autonomy in a globalised education market, opening up opportunities to undermine or thwart a prevailing Western narrative and give rise to a more diversified discourse as a result of such habitus having been secured or is it merely a diversionary tactic whereby those in ultimate power manages to 'stultify' the wider world? Is

there room for a Foucauldian fissure to occur, as discussed at the end of the previous section? Do the educational systems assimilated into a globalised version of education become another 'political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse?' (Foucault, 1972, p.227) Equally, what would the result be of rejecting these systems? Conformity may be the price of entrance, but what of the price of refusing to engage? To what extent would cultures be expelled or even 'abjected' (Kristeva, 1992) as a result? These are tensions that will not be entirely answerable through the analysis of data from this study, but they are questions that should be asked, whether they can be answered or not.

There is a tension within the research focus of this study between the process of teachers teaching other teachers in a CPD capacity (and the potential for success of this as a training tool more generally) and whether this method peer learning can be successful in the very specific rural Ugandan location as an example of a post-colonial context. The former concern, the success of the model of Teacher to teacher CPD and training, is not being debated within this study. There are many advocates of the teacher to teacher approach (Admiraal et al., 2016; Charteris, 2016; Charteris and Smardon, 2016; Makopoulou, 2018). It is a practice that is identified as stimulating teacher learning, facilitating sharing, collaboration and reflection (Admiraal et al., 2016) and it has been described as having the potential to 'position teachers as capable, reflexive and resourceful practitioners and decision-makers.' (Charteris, 2016, p.277). Conversely, others argue that yet further attention and resources need to be allocated to the practice in order to maximise its potential (Makopoulou, 2018). It is sufficient for the purpose of this study to acknowledge these wider discussions and to recognise that it is a widely accepted method that has both strengths and challenges, regardless of the specifics of the context. Entering any further into this debate, I feel, serves only to distract from the aims of this thesis.

The purpose of my research is not to question teacher to teacher CPD as a methodology. Rather, the intention is to consider how teacher-led CPD is experienced by both the recipients of training and those who deliver it, when located within a culture that is radically different from the culture of those delivering the programme and when those cultures are a part of a post-colonial context. I will focus on what happens when the CPD topic that is being delivered (in this case, best practices for effective teaching and learning) is a very definite product of the culture within which it and those training others in its use are situated. Furthermore, I aim to consider what happens when the knowledge shared from one culture is

transferred to another without due consideration of the diversity between two very different cultural settings.

A theory that is of relevance here is that of Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger's (1991) 'communities of practice.' This challenged long-standing notions about learning and in particular, they argued that learning does not rest with the individual but is a social process that is situated in a cultural and historical context. (Farnsworth, 2016). Wenger believed that learning, far from being the act of individuals absorbing knowledge in isolation from others, there is instead a social theory of learning that comprises of multiple connected component, as can be seen in the diagram adapted for this context from Wenger (1999. P26) below:



Wenger suggests that learning of any kind, is reliant upon our participation in activities that afford the opportunity for learning to occur. However, this participation is subject to and dependent upon all four components. Firstly, Wenger suggests that participation in learning is subject to belonging to a community. In this case, a community of international teachers and educators, be that locally for the Ugandan participants in rural Kanungu, culturally as a part of that which has previously been defined as Western or Other, or more broadly still as teaching professionals. These communities and our belonging to them, Wenger suggests, are what make our enterprises 'worth pursuing and our participation is recognizable as competence.' We all belong to a community that is competent in teaching and, as such, we all undertake the practice of teaching. It is this practice, these ways of 'doing' teaching that we

are able to talk about that unite members of the learning community. As a result of belonging to this community and its shared practices, participants are able to make meaning of what they do and the experiences they have, it is how their practices are made meaningful and how their identities as teachers are formed and , Wenger states, ‘how learning changes who we are and creates personal histories of becoming in the context of our communities Wenger, 1998. P26).’

When Wenger uses the term, ‘Community of Practice,’ he is in fact referring to all of these components and this makes the act of participation in such a community far from a simple act of developing expertise in the given field, although this is, of course, the aim. In commercial contexts, such as some of those explored by Wenger (Hewlett Packard, The Chrysler Corporation, etc.) in *Cultivating Communities of Practice* (2002), there can be, I would suggest, at least a more fixed notion of identity that can be established by the culture, ethos and shared values of a company or their board; they are part of an organisation and so would, it is fair to assume, be working towards very specific goals. However, I was not convinced that the same could be said of teachers from vastly differing cultures, whereby the emphasis on the role education may be different to. Neither the identity of a teacher nor the classroom practices in these contexts can be assumed as uniform.

By contrast, I would also suggest that just because identities and roles are not identical, this does not automatically preclude the sharing of knowledge between teachers. In the same way, teachers from enormously varied local contexts can share and build knowledge. For example, a teacher from a large, high attaining private school and a teacher from a low attaining, comprehensive school in an area of high deprivation are able to meaningfully interact and share knowledge and expertise beneficial to them both, be it pertaining to the work they do, the culture of the organisations they work in or otherwise. They may bring different aspects of knowledge to the table, but this means the collective knowledge bank simply grows; it is not diminished by difference. This is, arguably, also a possibility when sharing knowledge across countries and cultures.

Wenger (2002, p11.) suggests that ‘Knowledge is dynamic,’ and it is this ever-changing collective knowledge that forms the basis for a community of practice:

Knowledge is not static. It is continually in motion. In fact, our collective knowledge of any field is changing at an accelerating rate...This dynamism does not mean that a

domain of knowledge lacks a stable core. In all fields, there is a required baseline of knowledge. One of the primary tasks of a community of practice is to establish this common baseline and standardize what is well understood so that people can focus their creative energies on the more advanced issues (Wenger, 2002, p11).

Whilst the dynamic nature of knowledge and the ways in which this knowledge can be seen to expand and embody new forms of knowledge points to a positive development of expertise across cultural and contextual divides, the baseline of knowledge described here is a troubling concept. After all, it must also be considered who it is that gets to set this baseline and how such decisions are negotiated by the participants. In much the same way as Bauman problematises the tension between community and individuality, security and freedom, I also wish to interrogate how membership in this particular community, how belonging to an international community that has a post-colonial and potential neo-colonial atmosphere shapes the identities of its members.

Farnsworth (2016) interviewed Wenger and aimed to clarify his theoretical perspectives on learning as a 'socially constituted experience of meaning making' and asked Wenger to define key terms, central to this theory. Within the context of this interview, Wenger not only discussed the notion of a community of practice, but also the ways in which identities are shaped by a person's engagement with a learning community:

If a really important part of learning is the shaping of an identity, then one key implication for education is that you cannot give people knowledge without inviting them into an identity for which this knowledge represents a meaningful way of being. (Farnsworth, 2016, p.145).

Whilst forming communities of practice between groups of teachers is of interest, it is of greater relevance to this study to consider the ways in which belonging to such a community might impact on teacher identities for all participants. Further than this, it is considered by Wenger that when communities exist (such as those established between teacher practitioners), there is often little consideration of how that which constitutes knowledge and who has the ability to determine which practices should be shared is decided upon:

We talk about practice, regimes of competence and knowledgeability, but we refrain from defining knowledge. Whose practice and competence gets to be viewed as 'knowledge' is a complex historical, social and political process that it is not in the

scope of the theory to define, at least in its current state. For that, you would have to refer to historians of knowledge like Michel Foucault... (Farnsworth, 2016, p.145).

This link between the sharing of knowledge, the communities forged to do so and the power mechanisms at play in their construction and the prioritisation of knowledge are of particular relevance to the study. The identities forged as a result of such processes are inextricably linked to the Post-colonial context that I have discussed previously.

It is also important to consider how this programme might be received in other parts of the world. In the BERA-RSA inquiry into the role of research in teacher education, the case is made for 'self-improving education systems in which teachers are research literate and have opportunities for engagement in research and enquiry' (BERA, 2014, p.5). Yet this is not a feature of the programme explored here at this stage. Whilst there may be opportunities to include this as local communities of practice are established, it should also be considered that this model of teacher education is not in-keeping with that which is being recommended at both national and international level in the West. There may be defences for this made in terms of accessibility, however, it should also be considered whether this disparity in teacher education methods can be justified.

3.4 Previous Works in this Context

One final area of literature that requires consideration is that of other research and studies written specifically surrounding the teacher-led CPD that this thesis is based on. The organisation with which I volunteered encourages academic research and reflection upon its practices and so there are other papers that have been produced to this end, though each with a different focus to this thesis. These are not all widely available, having yet to be published or completed as modular assignments for other educational institutions. However, having been granted access to these, I wish to include them in this literature review. The first of these is Masters' Degree Dissertation, for a MSc in International Development programme at The University of Edinburgh (Grossman, 2013) that adopt a case study approach. The intention of this study is given as follows:

This case study provides an evaluation of LRTT's impacts on classroom practices of English teachers working in the local community through lesson observations and semi-structured interviews. The main implications concern stakeholders' perceptions towards different pedagogical approaches and factors which constrained the use of

effective pedagogical methods in the classrooms. Then, recommendations are offered on how LRTT can better offer future in-service training that addresses the needs of the teachers within the local context (Grossman, 2013, p.2).

The main findings of this study included a critique of the teaching styles and pedagogy observed in Ugandan schools such as the 'the examination-oriented nature of the primary curriculum' and that is blamed for 'causing teachers to forgo the participatory approach they were trained to use' and 'The teacher-led interaction frequently involved long recitations composed of teacher explanation and questions, and individual students or the whole class responding with short answers.' (Grossman, 2013, p.46). Additionally, it reviewed the competencies of teachers who had or had not attended teacher led CPD delivered by the non-government organisation that created the programme and also made suggestions for improving the provision delivered by the organisation, such as:

The introduction of subject-based Pedagogical Content Knowledge would practically help teachers deliver their subject content and address the gap between pedagogical theories and implementations in the classroom...

...it is strongly recommended to introduce second language acquisition concepts such as looking at the meaning and use of language on top of form when teaching grammar and vocabulary...

...In order to better understand the realities of schools in the Kanungu context, LRTT facilitators should try to observe lessons as well as get hands on teaching experience in the local context to better understand the dynamic within the classroom. This can help avoid the issue of transferring certain approaches that may not be applicable in the local classroom context. (Grossman, 2013, p.60)

These elements of the study are problematic for me as it reinforces the binary identities previously discussed as potentially damaging and conducive to creating a discourse of incapacity (Anwaruddin, 2014). There is an implicit contention that the author of this study is able to make recommendations for improving the effectiveness of classroom practice and devise training that 'that addresses the needs of the teachers within the local context'(p.2) and 'should emphasize on teaching strategies which considered the limitations of the realities within which teachers work in, for instance large class sizes, small classrooms, lack of textbooks or learning resources for students, and other physical constraints in schools

alongside the school culture and the curriculum' (p.61) without fully appreciating the cultural context. Clearly, the author, whether aware of it or not, reinforces the belief that Western methods are best even whilst acknowledging the context is different to their own.

A second work to consider is another unpublished dissertation written for MSc in Educational Leadership (Teach First) of the University of Warwick (Gaffy, 2013). This paper was entitled, 'An appraisal of the impact of participating in the Limited Resource Teacher Training exchange on the teaching and leadership skills of the Teach First Teachers delivering it, the developing country teachers participating in it and lessons for future development.' Its author is also the co-founder and CEO of the organisation with whom I volunteered. This study focused on two research questions, 'What is the effect of participating in the LRTT Fellowship on teachers who travel and take part?' and 'How can the LRTT Fellowship programme be changed to improve it as an opportunity for professional development for both the UK and local teachers involved?' (Gaffy, 2013, p.1). The author, of course, declares his positionality and pecuniary or personal investment in the programme and adopts a qualitative approach in an attempt to strengthen the integrity of the study. The study draws on a number of efficacy questionnaires and interviews in order to ascertain the strengths and weaknesses of the programme and demonstrates the benefits. What is of greatest relevance for the purposes of this thesis is perhaps the contribution to the response to the programme from Ugandan teachers and Head Teachers. The reflections included focus on areas such as 'helping teachers move away from didactic teaching,' moving away from corporal punishment, the perception of participation as 'being of real standing in the eyes of local educators' and the 'appetite for the course' (Gaffy, 2013, p44). There is a concerted effort to locate the programme within the Ugandan education system and the broader African context, though there is again no discussion of cultural theory or discourses surrounding education as a globalised commodity as this thesis will endeavour to do. The limitations of such studies that do not recognise the cultural and educational discourses within which a programme of this nature is situated in are that it inherently assumes superior knowledge residing with the Western teachers and educational systems, for example, whilst few could argue against moving away from corporal punishment, there is little recognition of the imposition of one culture on another in doing so. Similarly, the assumption that 'didactic' teaching should be moved away from is to assume that this Western trend should be applied regardless of context, without first considering the cultural and social implications in a non-Western context. This lack of consideration for

cultural difference and appreciation of its impact was something I was keen to rectify in this study.

A third research paper to consider is that of another board member of the organisation that authored a Master's dissertation on a sister programme operating in Rwanda, "They are up there and we are down here": The role of international teacher cooperation in Rwanda' (Grant, 2017). This dissertation sought to answer the research question, 'What role can international teacher cooperation play in improving in-service teacher training in Rwanda?' and, of particular interest are the subsidiary questions of 'To what extent can global teacher training policies and ideas (which the LRTT programme draws on) be successfully translated to the Rwandan context?' and 'How are these global teacher training policies and ideas experienced by Rwandan teachers?' (Grant, 2017. p.6) Its findings are summarised as:

...whilst there are many opportunities for international cooperation to support teacher training, it is important to consider the power dynamics in these interactions across all levels: in national policy, at classroom level and for individual teachers' experiences. For international support to be successful, visiting teachers need to fully engage with the national education policy context and have an awareness of how the policy ideas LRTT is 'lending' can be adapted to the Rwandan context. (Grant, 2017. p.6-7)

From the outset, I sensed that these findings would resonate substantially with my work, despite their difference of location and the different methods and methodology that I have chosen. Whilst Grant's work focused on policy borrowing and lending, this thesis focuses on the adoption of distinctly different theoretical lenses to understand the lived experiences of myself as an autoethnographer. I further build on the suggestions of neo-colonialism posited briefly by Grant and explore this in light of my own research questions.

Finally, it is necessary to reference the Impact Evaluation that was authored by two American students of the Clinton Institute that was written whilst I was present and conducting my own research in Uganda (Kurten and Smith, 2017). The purpose of this study was given as:

the researchers sought to determine the cultural, national, organizational, and logistical frameworks underlying the Impact Team's ability to accurately and effectively measure LRTT's impact...to develop an Impact Team Strategy which can be used by LRTT to measure the impact of LRTT fellows on students, teachers, fellows, partner organizations, and LRTT as a service delivery organization. This research

showed the successes of LRTT's teacher training model and also highlighted areas in which LRTT can improve as an impact-focused organization (Kurten and Smith, 2017, p.2).

This is both the most recent paper on the project and the most comprehensive, applying a range of data collection methods to rigorously evaluate the impact of the programme. This paper contextualises the context of Uganda and other teacher-led sites utilising data from the World Bank and UNESCO, which could be problematised by some opponents, such as Anwarudin (2014). However, much of the data collected is sourced from surveys and interviews that asked teachers from the global sites of Uganda, Rwanda, Ghana, Nepal, and India to evaluate the impact of their participation in the programme, reporting feedback that Kurten and Smith (2017) suggest:

...demonstrates the positive perception teachers have of LRTT and how methods learned from fellows enable teachers to break cycles of unproductive practices in the classroom. Not only does this teacher's comment on how the techniques help them improve their own pedagogy it, more importantly expresses how these strategies help improve student learning. In this way, this example directly relates to LRTT's mission to ensure every child have access to a quality teacher and a quality education (Kurten and Smith, 2017, p.22).

In addition, quantitative data is also reported:

In aggregate, the teachers' self-evaluations show a 23% increase in understanding of pedagogy over the course of the fellowship. Teachers learned the most in their differentiation sessions, at an improvement rate of 28%, and the lowest improvement scores were from the marking and feedback sessions (Kurten and Smith, 2017, p.19).

This is valuable as further evidence that corresponds to my third subsidiary research question, can western-led CPD programmes have a positive impact? However, what is perhaps of greatest interest and value is the recommendations and conclusions section of this report which states:

The researchers recommend that considerable time be given to evaluate each site's specific needs and contexts both organizationally and educationally. Only with this type of evaluation will LRTT be able to measure its true impacts and discover the areas

that need significant improvement. LRTT's model shows success is possible, but it has not yet been maximized for partners, fellows, teachers, or students. If LRTT remains in pursuit of its mission to ensure that every child has access to a good quality teacher, the organization must first definitely ensure that it is producing good quality teachers. (Kurten and Smith, 2017, p.34).

It is here where there are multiple tensions expressed that are of interest as this runs parallel to my own thesis. Kurten and Smith question the ways in which the specific needs and contexts are understood, evaluated and met, both 'organizationally and educationally' and this, I believe, speaks most substantially to my own questions; how is participation in teacher-led CPD experienced by teachers from vastly different cultural contexts and are teacher led professional development programmes delivered by Western teachers to Ugandan teachers a form of neo-colonialism? Additionally, the subjective term 'good quality teacher' is something that the globalisation of education and dominant discourses surrounding the purpose and quality of education have constructed; it predicates an imperialistic measure against which all teaching in all contexts can be measured. It is this contribution to a Eurocentric knowledge base and the implicit hierarchies of power that this reinforces that will be further explored.

This chapter is by no means concise because it has been necessary to thoroughly explore the three component areas of this study; the historical and cultural context of the study, post and neo-colonial theory and educational perspectives, all of which are enormously relevant to the research study. As discussed in the introduction to this thesis, this study raises many tensions and questions; some closely linked to the original research aims of this study, others that have emerged throughout the study of the relevant literature. Not all are easily, if at all, resolved or answerable, as those in the previous paragraph illustrate, but they are nonetheless worthy of consideration.

Firstly, is there a power imbalance that occurs when the history shared between cultures is one of extreme inequality and how does this manifest within the post-colonial context when a working party is established between the formerly colonised and former colonisers and if this is the case, what is at stake in the naming of educational theory and/or pedagogy as Western? Is the conclusion likely to be a 'designation of institutional power and ideological Eurocentricity?' Is there the potential for there to re-inscribe the educational modernity within the Western culture or does the imbalance of power result in the resistance to its oppression failing to take place? Are teacher led professional development programmes

delivered by Western teachers to Ugandan teachers a form of neo-colonialism? Can the borrowing of Western policy and pedagogy be successful in such diverse cultural contexts? Does the potential for transformation occur and are 'actors' from and living in different cultures able to enter into a third or liminal space in order to develop their identities? Does this form a definite 'contact zone' by virtue of their interactions with each other? How do participant identities develop; whether they might too be subject to a transformation? What are the aims of the system of education, an ever expanding, globalised phenomenon, to affect and alter teaching and learning in the African context in order to enable entrance into this global market? Is there any alternative to this or must the entire continent assimilate to survive? How are the identities of the Other formed in the minds of the Western teachers of a teacher to teacher CPD programme? How significant is race/racialisation in teacher-led CPD programmes? To what extent might programmes such as the one at the centre of this study be reaffirming not only singular identities of teachers and students, but also singular educational practices and needs? Will this render the programmes without benefit or can something of value still emerge?

There may be a positive exchange of power in receipt of commodifiable knowledge, 'the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it' (Foucault, 1972), but at what cost to that culture? How much of its cultural identity is nullified in order for it to be assimilated into the discourse and does entry into this discourse earn greater agency or autonomy in a globalised education market, opening up opportunities to undermine or thwart a prevailing Western narrative and give rise to a more diversified discourse as a result of such habitus having been secured or is it merely a diversionary tactic whereby those in ultimate power manages to 'stultify' the wider world? Do the educational systems assimilated into a globalised version of education become another 'political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse?' (Foucault, 1972, p.227) Equally, what would the result be of rejecting these systems? Conformity may be the price of entrance, but what of the price of refusing to engage? To what extent would cultures be expelled or even abjected as a result?

In the next chapter I will explore why, given these tensions, I have chosen the autoethnographic methodology, the data collection methods of field notes, visual images, interviews and artefacts and the ethical challenges faced during the field work aspect of this thesis.

4.0 Methodology and Methods

In this chapter I will discuss the methodology chosen and then the methods adopted as a result of this methodology, before addressing the ethical considerations for this thesis in the chapter which immediately follows. It is a purposeful decision to link the three sections of methods, methodology and ethics because they were, for the purposes of this study, inextricably linked. In this chapter I address their symbiotic relationship and discuss the way in which they were simultaneously dictated and influenced by the study and its context. I pay particular attention to the visual methods employed and note how this informed the final selection of an interpretative, autoethnographic methodology.

4.1 Methodology

Ellis (2011, p.273) describes autoethnography as follows:

Autoethnography is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural experience (ethno) (Ellis, 2004; Holman Jones, 2005).

It was not my first instinct to present this study as an autoethnography, but as the research evolved, it became abundantly clear that it could be nothing else. I went to Uganda with a broad repertoire of data collection methods and an intention for a broadly qualitative study. This was a necessity; I entered the research window with little working knowledge of the country, context, culture and systems of education, so there would be an essential journey of discovery to be undertaken. More than this though, I had little scope to fully understand the opportunities or complexities of undertaking research in this circumstance. With each method I employed, I was very aware of ethical and organisational dilemmas, many of which with little or no hope of easy resolution. The writing up of my research has become a narrative of lived experience and to pretend otherwise would be inaccurate. However, the value of this narrative should not be underestimated:

The stories we tell enable us to live and live better: stories allow us to lead more reflective, more meaningful and more just lives...Autoethnographies are stories of/about the self-told through the lens of culture...Autoethnographies are artistic and analytical demonstrations of how we come to know, name and interpret personal and cultural experience. With autoethnography, we use our experience to engage

ourselves, others, culture(s), politics and social research. In doing autoethnography, we confront 'the tension between insider and outsider perspectives, between social practice and social constraint.' (Adams and Jones, 2015. p1)

It was the pursuit of 'analytical demonstrations' of how I came to understand and interpret my experience that I have chosen to utilise in this thesis and how I hope to confront the 'tensions' of being a Western educator delivering CPD in a Ugandan context. This firmly situates my work within the interpretative phenomenological approach, described by some as hermeneutic interpretive phenomenology, which has gained traction in a wide variety of fields including the medical sciences (Arpanantikul, 2018; Ivey, 2013) religion (Kaselionyte and Gumley, 2017) and psychology/cognitive therapy (Adolfsson, 2010).

Crist and Tanner (2003, p.202) succinctly explain the rationale:

Hermeneutic interpretive phenomenology, based on Heideggerian philosophy (Allen, Benner, & Diekelmann, 1986; Heidegger, 1962; 1975), is a qualitative research methodology used when the research question asks for meanings of a phenomenon with the purpose of understanding the human experience... The philosophy of hermeneutics underpins interpretive methodology, the science of interpreting human meaning and experience (Gadamer, 1976; Polkinghorne, 1983). Through the application of hermeneutic interpretive phenomenology, practical acts of living, accessed through 'narratives' (interviews and observations) reveal meaning. This methodology increases sensitivity to humans' ways of being-in-the-world (Dreyfus, 1991), rather than providing theory for generalization or prediction of phenomena.

The intention here was to share interpretations of human meaning and experience through the practical act of living and participating in a teacher-led CPD programme in Uganda, demonstrating sensitivity to the 'ways of being-in-the-world' as a volunteer for the programme, seeking to share pedagogy and practice in a dialogic practice, yet caught between the innumerable tensions of cultural dissonance, colonial and neo-colonial intent and globalisation.

There is a danger when undertaking research of an autoethnographic study, that there might be an assumption of a lack of rigour or a relaxed approach towards the interrogation of data, if it is, as suggested nothing more than a 'story.' However, this was not the case with this research thesis; I embraced the 'analytical demonstrations' of how the narrative persona of 'I'

came to know of the complexities of participation in teacher-led CPD in an exceptionally multifaceted and composite set of circumstances. Throughout this thesis I endeavoured to layer autoethnographic narrative with interrogation of theory from each of the areas highlighted in the Literature Review; the socio-historical and cultural context of Uganda, post and neo-colonialism and educational theories, in order to create a dynamic between lived experience and these theoretical lenses.

As an example of this, the images I used provided a stimulus for a story to be told from a very nuanced, individual perspective. They enabled me, as the participant-researcher, to engage with how I had applied meaning and continue to do so through both cultural and theoretical lenses and to demonstrate how the knowledge that I have discerned from both my experience in situ and through the analysis of images beyond this have been shaped. It facilitated engagement with the cultures of the West and those that post-colonialists would label as Other (Kalua, 2009; Bhabha, 1994; Kapoor, 2008; Ghasemi, Sasani and Nemati, 2017); the politics of policy transfer in a global market place (Ball, Goodson and Maguire 2007; Ball 2012a); and the social interactions between teachers of vastly different contexts who are able to overcome difference in order to enact change by creating communities of practice and engaging in rich dialogue that facilitates the exchange of both tacit and explicit knowledge (Farnsworth, Kleanthous and Wenger-Trayner, 2016; Mjelde and Daly, 2012; Sun and Roumell, 2017). There was an ever present tension within the data collection between my perspectives as both an insider to the teaching profession, but an outsider to the Ugandan context, but the use of images has afforded the opportunity to analyse both without the associated 'dis-ease' that did, at times, threaten my ability to reflexively comment on experiences, perhaps as a response to what Bourdieu would term a destabilisation of 'habitus' and Sweetman describes as 'Twentieth Century Dis-ease' (Sweetman, 2003, p528). The writing of this piece was ethically troubling at all junctures as there had been a hyper-awareness of my own positionality as a product of my own culture, but also of the imbalances of power and agency that occur in a non-Western context by virtue of a complex and unequal history. I have strived not to shy away from such troubling moments, but to welcome and support these as opportunities to gain insight, even if those insights are not always complimentary.

A multitude of questions and tensions arose during this research piece and, whilst I cannot claim that utilising a visual method to complement an autoethnographic approach enabled me to find clear solutions to, it did serve as a catalyst that has facilitated engagement in these

wider debates. Specifically referencing photography taken during the colonial period, Pink (2007) posits that a 'colonial gaze' can be discerned:

Studies of colonial photography have characterized the 'colonial gaze' on other less powerful cultures as an exploitative and objectifying project to catalogue and classify the colonized (p.27).

In the autoethnographic data chapter, I further interrogate the extent to which such a gaze is still evident in my own work and of how the images perpetuated through sources such as the media influence the ways in which images that I utilise are likely to be interpreted in further pieces that are beyond the scope of this particular paper. However, it is my contention that the ways in which such images are interpreted is inseparable from the cultural context of the researcher. Pink (2014) suggests:

By focusing on how ethnographic knowledge about how individuals experience reality is produced, through the intersubjectivity between researchers and their research contexts, we may arrive at a closer understanding of the worlds that other people live in (p.19).

I would suggest that, perhaps, this might be taken a small step further to conclude that by focusing yourself, on how your own (auto)ethnographic knowledge is produced, we can arrive at how we perceive the worlds that other people live in and can begin to ask challenging questions about how our own knowledge is constructed, actively striving to acknowledge the ways in which we might privilege or prioritise that which is our own from that which is Other or Othered. This is not to suggest that I had not considered the possibility of an ethnography or visual ethnography, whose conventions I also draw on throughout this methodology section. I read many examples of such studies, particularly those focused on teacher education, such as the work of Bamber (2015) in which ethnography is successfully utilised to depict the narratives of trainee teachers. However, unlike Bamber who was 'directly involved' (p.61) in the training of students who were treading a very familiar path to her own, I felt that I was not able to consider myself as such due to the contrasting cultures and contexts of the study.

Denzin (2014, p2.), explores autoethnography yet further within the interpretative paradigm, highlighting that experience lived by the autoethnographer is ultimately nothing more than a performative act, stating that 'there is no empirically stable I giving a true account of an

experience.’ This is fully acknowledged here. Experiences recounted and analysed throughout the remainder of this study do not in any way provide an ‘empirically stable’ or ‘true account,’ but rather this text is ‘raced, gendered, class production(s), reflecting the biases and values of racism, patriarchy and the middle class’ (Denzin, 2014, p7).

The decision to adopt this methodology was not an easy one. Denzin lists an alarming number of criticisms towards interpretative autoethnography stating:

Autoethnography has been criticized for being nonanalytic, self-indulgent, irreverent, sentimental and romantic...for being too artful. It has been criticized for not being scientific, for having no theory, no concepts, no hypotheses...It has been dismissed for not being sufficiently rigorous, theoretical or analytical. Critics contend that a single case only tells one story; narrative enquiry is not scientific enquiry. Some charge that autoethnographers do too little fieldwork have small samples, use biased data, are navel-gazers, and are too self-absorbed, offering only verisimilitude, and not analytical insights...of course poststructuralists contend that such key terms as experience, voice, presence and meaning are undertheorized...Methodological critics claim autoethnographies lack reliability generalizability, and validity (Denzin, 2014, p69-70).

It might be reasonable then to decide that this methodology is simply too problematic and challenging to risk its adoption for a doctoral thesis, that it would be safer to adopt a more traditional methodology. However, it was not my intention to produce a narrative truth compliant with a positivist framework. I fully acknowledged and embraced the very nuanced and situated perspective from which I write, aware that I am not even able to identify all of the intricacies of the influences that shape it. The reflexivity of the analysis chapter afforded some opportunities for analysis and insight, but does not and cannot attempt to offer truths. It does not claim to be reliable, generalisable nor valid. However, this does not make it pointless or futile. Denzin suggests, there is instead, a very different goal of this approach towards research, ‘The goal is to write performance texts in a way that moves others to ethical action’ (Denzin, 2014, p.70) and quotes Clough (2000) as a proponent of reading autoethnography as symptomatic of something that requires attention; identifying criterion for evaluation of such autoethnographic writing as ‘cultural criticism and theoretical reflection,’ Denzin strongly agrees that Clough’s assertion that ‘experimental writing (is) to be a vehicle for thinking new sociological subjects, new parameters of the social (p 290)’ (p.72).

Denzin also questions the possible measurements for success of such studies if traditional paradigms offer little criteria against which to measure their success, employing Feminist, Communitarian Criteria, Literary and Aesthetic Criteria, Narratives of Self Criteria and Performative Criteria borrowed from each field respectively. However, the most concise explanation is detailed as follows:

The intention...is not to convince the reader, the writer or the other that this interpretation constitutes the most valid or correct version of the Truth.

Understanding is desired: the guiding question is simple: Have I as a writer created an experiential text that allows me (and you) to understand what I have studied?

Understanding occurs when you (and I) are able to interpret what has been described within a framework that is subjectively, emotionally, and casually meaningful. This is the verisimilitude of the experiential text, a text that does not map or attempt to reproduce the real (Denzin, 2014, p.83).

This definition afforded me the freedom to write about the experience of participating in teacher-led CPD programmes from my own perspective, drawing on all methods detail previously in this chapter, but without trying to unpick the impossible intricacies of how their meaning should and can be 'truthfully' interpreted. Rather than ensuring all methods are pointing to a singular, universal truth, it was my aim to write from my own standpoint and interpret that standpoint as a subjectively formed, emotionally charged, but still meaningful perspective. This may threaten my approach with the accusation of navel-gazing, earlier levelled at this methodology, but again, Denzin counters this by way of explaining the goals of such texts:

The goal is the production of a text that creates its own conditions of understanding. This form of verisimilitude is textual. The text rests on that version of the world I have entered and studied. It articulates the emotional, moral, and political meanings this world has for me... They mark and re-inscribe passing epiphanic experience, giving it meaning, allowing others to vicariously share in that experience... Experientially grounded, these texts speak alongside the voices of science, privileging the personal over the institutional... Refusing the identity of empirical science the experiential text becomes a form of social criticism that no longer seeks validation in scientific discourse. (Denzin, 2014, p.83).

It was in this spirit that I recorded my experiences, aiming to articulate the emotional, moral and political meanings of working in a post-colonial world. It was my intention to offer an account that may not necessarily complement the empirical data and dominant narratives of the media, but that can sit alongside them to raise, even if unable to answer, some of the more challenging questions that are, at times, not asked because they are too difficult and people do not know how to ask them or because 'no one knows how to talk to anyone else' (Bauman, 2000, p107).

There are a great many different forms of ethnographic writing that this methodology encompasses, with some choosing to use their experiences to sketch images (Rambo, 2007, Glovicski, 2016c), others to create poetry (Gloviczik, 2016b, Robinson, 2017) others create short stories (Glovicski, 2016a). None of these examples exemplify the exact ways in which I have used autoethnography, but there are pieces that set some precedents for my style that can be sourced across multiple examples. Glovicski's (2016c) sketching example does not represent artistic sketching or drawings, but rather short recollections of key events over a period of time (eight years in this case). There is little commentary, but rather just a narrative of episodes of relevance to the themes of the paper (overcoming limitations associated with a physical disability). This leaves the onus entirely on the reader to analyse the text and give voice to the concerns being raised through that which is experientially shared. Whilst I find this narrative method insightful, this was not an entirely satisfying method as I felt that further expansion was needed to commentate fully on the impact of events and moments the writer has chosen to construct in this way. I found that Warren (2017) uses journal extracts or recollections of events in a more satisfying way; including an extract and then reflexively commentating on the extract, employing theoretical frameworks to do so. This is how I have responded to two elements of the data collected within this thesis; journal entries and interview responses.

In addition, I have considered how others have utilised images (be they photographic, drawn or depicted in narrative form). Alexander (2014) introduces the ways in which several ethnographers have used iconography or the interpretation of visual images to produce autoethnography that is situated alongside the icon or image of Westerner, i.e. referencing in images or in a description of that image from a source and then responding to that source in a personal and, at times, critical narrative. This is perhaps closest to the methodology I have employed when utilising images. However, my methodology focuses not only on the images and how I have employed critical frameworks to read that image, but also a reflexive strand

that questions why I might have read the image in the specific way in which I have, all of which is contained within a narrative description.

Finally, photographs and images have increasingly been used to inform autoethnographic writing. Whilst some, such as Liu and Pechenkina (2016) opt to describe images without including a number of these images in their written work, others such as De La Lama (2015) include images, though many of these are pictograms rather than photographs, as a frame for autoethnographic writing, quite separate to visual ethnography. Scarles (2010) and Pope (2016), though from vastly different fields, provide a framework most akin to that which I will use, both including images within the body of their respective works to stimulate discussion and exemplify that which might be difficult to convey using text alone.

In answer to a question that may be raised regarding the use of such varied methods, the layering of experience, understanding, reflection and reflexivity used strengthens the rigour of this study without attempting to validate what has already been accepted as a nuanced and individual perspective. It has enabled the achievement of the goal set by Denzin: 'the production of a text that creates its own conditions of understanding' (2014, p83).

4.2 Methods

The context of this research, as previously explored, was a short research window of a month-long period in a culture different to my own and in a geographically distant location. By necessity, there was an intention to embrace a wide variety of research tools, as there was little scope to know with any certainty ahead of arrival, the constraints and opportunities that would be available for data collection. For this reason, I decided to secure ethical approval for the use of the following methods to be employed:

- 1) Reflexive journaling
- 2) Use of images
- 3) Conducting semi-structured interviews and focus group sessions
- 4) Collecting artefacts/sketches

All methods were used and the significance of the data collected is illustrated within table 2, overleaf.

Table 2: Methods

Data type	Significance	Context of collection
Journals	Approximately 10,800 words	These were written throughout my time in Uganda and during my return trip home. I wrote at least something every day, most often at night or late afternoon (and before the generator was turned off), when I had time to reflect on the experiences of the day. Some entries were small, just a couple of brief paragraphs focusing on a moment or interaction, others were several pages and detailed an experience that evoked a strong reaction, such as the time spent with a mother willing to give up her child for money or the celebration day at a school.
Images	700 photographic images pertaining to study	Images were taken (with consent) across the variety of school in which I worked, at the conference days, in Kanungu town and at the lodge where I stayed. There were many other 'tourist' pictures taken, but these are not included here. Some pictures captured physical conditions, buildings and resources in order to help create a detailed image of the physical spaces of these locations, both for myself and for the purpose of the thesis. Other images captured interactions, relationships or moments that, to me, expressed something about the relationships being developed or revealed in those moments.

Interviews	Total time of interviews 201 minutes, 53 seconds.	
	1. School Director of school participating in the programme-named as D.	1. Interview given in the multi-purpose 'office' room of the school during the school day. This is used as an office, a store room for text books, the room in which teachers are served lunch and where they go to complete marking or attend meetings. This is a communal space, open space.
	2. School Headteacher of a school participating in the programme-named as M.	2. As above.
	3. 3 School teachers participating in the CPD programme-named as A, B and C.	3. One interview took place in the office described above, two took place outside of the classrooms where teachers taught; we sat in the yard of the school; there was no other space available.
	4. 6 Teaching fellows (teachers delivering the CPD programme)-unnamed.	4. Focus group interview took place in the afternoon after the conference day. We sat outside in the grounds of the LRTT lodge site. Volunteers were asked to attend, should they wish to, in their 'leisure' time. This interview took place towards the end of the programme so that participants could reflect upon their expectations and lived experiences.

	5. An independent researcher conducting an impact study - named as E.	5. This interview took place at the LRTT lodge, inside the main cabin, after a conference day. This is a communal area where volunteers can spend any leisure time and where meals can be taken.
	6. Me being interviewed by said fellow researcher-named as myself.	6. As above.
Sketches from students	13 participants	<p>These were created by students from the secondary school that I was most involved with during my time in Uganda. I had originally planned to ask students to bring in artefacts (as explored below), but it became apparent that this was not a viable option; students lived on site and had very few possessions besides their clothes, their school books and the beds in which they slept in their shared dormitory. The idea of using sketches instead evolved from my own sketch-booking to capture my experiences as a part of the journaling process and so I asked the students to draw instead. This activity was set to take place at the end of a scheduled lesson. However, as the class' teacher was absent, the class had no lesson and so I was able to spend a full lesson with the students explaining the task, giving them time to draw and asking them what they had drawn and why. The students kept their pencils and rubbers at the end of the session, not as reward for participation, but because they had greater</p>

		need for their use than I could justify in collecting these back in.
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4.3 Reflexive Journaling

As a method, reflexive journaling has its roots in another technique, reflective journaling, and has previously been used in a variety of professional contexts, particularly those pertaining to both Health Care and Education (Taliaferro and Diesel, 2016; Thomas, Bertram and Allen, 2012; Dreyer, 2015; LaBelle and Belknap; 2016). There are two components to this method that should be considered; the aim to promote reflections and the text type of journal entries.

LaBelle et. al. (2016, p.129) provide a clear explanation of the former, citing Dewey:

Dewey quite early on (1916) elaborated on the reflective process in detail when he stated:

‘There are many words to represent the reflective process: debrief, process, consider, ponder, weigh, analyze, and evaluate are just a few. While each of these terms varies slightly in meaning, they all include some core elements. First, reflection is a deliberate thinking process applied to an experience, idea, or issue. Second, reflection takes time and the more time we can devote to it, the greater potential for learning and insight. Third, reflection can lead to cognitive growth resulting in new understandings and appreciations. Finally, reflection is an ethical undertaking in the sense that it should inform our future actions.’

The elements of reflective practice I wanted to very clearly adopt within these journal entries were congruent with this definition; intended to deliberately and consciously think about experiences in order to gain learning and insight in the pursuit of cognitive growth, generating new understanding that may contribute towards informing future actions of both myself as a participant in this social enterprise and to others who might want to participate in a similar programme. It is a tool that I have employed previously as a teacher practitioner and have, like many others in education, found to be beneficial (Iqbal, 2017; Dreyer, 2015; Lawrence-Wilkes and Ashmore, 2014; Larrivee 2000). However, there are some that argue this is not a simple task of thinking through an experience and subsequently growing because of that process. Benade (2015), for example, espouses the need for more than reflection for a beneficial outcome to be ensured, specifically from within the remit of teaching reflections that might constitute teaching inquiry and action research:

...developing a critically reflective practice requires teachers to explore their own assumptions and beliefs. To make this practice collaborative requires those assumptions and beliefs to be made public, and to work with others towards common goals for a reflective community of professional critical inquiry (Benade, 2015, p118).

There is also the intention, therefore, to explore the assumptions and beliefs that may emerge throughout the writing of and further reflection upon the ways in which this might impact upon my own interpretations or influence understanding. This is what aligns this journaling process as a reflexive method, rather than purely reflective. This distinction is described by Smith, who suggests, 'reflexive research is defined as a method that fully embraces and exploits the subjectivity of the researcher. Increasing reflexivity of research can increase the credibility and trustworthiness of qualitative data' (Smith, 2006, p209) and is further advocated and exemplified by Wickens et al. who argue that 'reflexivity challenges us as researchers/writers to revisit what we thought we understood about our research participants, our own language, and ultimately ourselves' (Wickens, et al., 2017, p863).

As will be explored later in this chapter, ethically, there existed for me a need to frequently interrogate and challenge the narrative being developed through not only journal entries, but also the other methods adopted in order to identify my own subjectivity, that at times, was so ingrained that I became aware that it had never previously occurred to me as 'subjective.' This was necessary in order for this piece to be credible. It is also why the text type of journaling was key. Had I termed these pieces 'logs,' 'accounts' or 'observations,' it may have been too easy to mistake them as something they were not; there is no pretence here that these entries are anything other than deeply personal and honest reflections that recount an experience from my own, individual perspective. Smith argues that too often in research write ups, there is a tendency to depersonalise research, for the researcher to remove his/her presence and become an omniscient third person within the narration of a text:

It is not an easy process to write oneself into the research. Authors shy away from the potential for embarrassment and that their flaws might be revealed in the public arena. As a result, research reports are often rendered 'devoid of human emotion and self-reflection' (Krizek, 1998). Ellis and Bochner (2000) note that most writing in the social sciences is in the third person, a passive voice as if written from nowhere by nobody. They argue that traditional conventions militate against personal writing: 'Once the anonymous essay became the norm, then the personal autobiographical story became

a delinquent form of expression...exercises in self-indulgence autoethnographies - fear of embarrassing yourself through melodramatic self-exposure' (Smith, 2006, p210-211).

However, as a counterbalance to this, she urges writers to move away from 'Realist Tales' and towards what she terms, 'Confessional Tales.' In some ways, the reflexive journals foreground the reflexivity I have strived exhibit throughout this thesis. Smith explains:

In contrast to the realist tale, where the voice of the researcher is barely heard, the confessional tale (Sparkes, 2002) emphasizes the voice of the researcher. Such writing is intended to show how each particular work came into being and to reveal the tensions and dilemmas inherent in the process. The fieldwork journey and the problems of the process are the main facts rather than the findings. Clear acknowledgement and exploration of bias, character flaws, anxieties and vulnerabilities help to develop a self-portrait that readers can identify with (Smith, 2006, p211).

The nature of this study, analysing interactions within a post-colonial context from the perspective of a white Western woman, was always going to reveal multitudinous tensions and dilemmas. The use of these journals enables these tensions and dilemmas to be more directly dealt with, in the hope not that they become the only findings of the piece, but that this piece might contribute to a body of knowledge that recognises such sticky ethical dilemmas and issues, but is not disabled by them. Ethically, no other participant was involved and any entries utilised in this project have no references to specific names, dates, people or places, ensuring anonymity and making the potential of risk to any party in the writing very much limited. However, these reflexive pieces would, as a singular research tool, be limited, though, as suggested here, they would give an opportunity for me to notice my own assumptions, biases and viewpoints more clearly:

'Confessional' approaches to writing up of research should be encouraged to complement more traditional ways of writing up research studies. There is a dilemma between emphasizing the views and needs of under researched participants and using the self-reflective approach frequently enough to encourage researchers to review their own process and practice. Confessional tales may expose the nature of the relationship the researcher has with the participant, which may help redress the power balance between the two (Smith, 2006, p214).

The confessional tale of the reflexive journals kept during this study not only gave the opportunity for me to record events and experiences, but their analysis as an evidence source beyond the time at which they were written and in light of other data gathered will offer some otherwise inaccessible insight. As a singular source, they would perhaps, at best, make an interesting monologue. I would be creating very much a single story (Adichie, 2016) and, whilst I do acknowledge that this is, to a certain extent unavoidable; a qualitative research paper such as this, which exists within an interpretative paradigm can only ever give one interpretation of events, using additional methods to confirm the verisimilitude of such interpretations, using these reflexive writing to complement other data sources, rather than replace them ensures greater rationality is applied. The second data source is that of the use of images.

4.4 Use of Images

Prior to arriving in Uganda, I had intended to take many photographs, knowing that in such a short and busy time frame, I would likely need images to keep a visual record of all that was seen and experienced. I also wished to keep photographic images because I felt they would be more accurate than my memory and able to convey information more rapidly than words. Beyond this, I admit that I had not thought extensively about the value or role that they would play as a part of the methodology of this study. However, these images have since become an invaluable source of data, that document what was materially present at the time of data collection and are utilised in many ways; to corroborate and to challenge, to reflect and to theorise and to ground this research in the specific time and place in which it was undertaken.

There has been much written of late in the growing body of research that draws upon visual methods. Some argue that traditional methods fail to engage with the research participant/s fully and so a more visual method is needed:

For Hollway and Jefferson (2013), traditional interviews based on the question-answer method are thin, rationally driven accounts that omit more than they reveal of human subjects; suggesting that an understanding of lived subjectivities requires a move beyond this restrictive format... images are widely recognised as having the potential to evoke emphatic understandings of the ways in which other people experience their worlds (Belin 2005; Fink 2012 ; Mizen 2005; Pink 2004; Rose 2001). (Dawn, 2010. p346)

In some ways, the want to produce an 'emphatic understanding,' is what drove this thesis; how else might it be possible to garner the same level of insight in a context that is so radically different to that of the researcher and much of the audience who might read it? However, others would also argue that to use photography, or more accurately, to take a photograph, is an inherently, political act. Citing work by Meadows, Grosvenor and Macnab (2015, p.134), also consider the power of an image:

The photographer maybe the author of the image, but the image is always, as Ariella Azoulay argues, 'the point of departure for a voyage whose route is never known in advance'. Different 'spectators' (audiences) contemplating an image, whether in the past, the present or the future, 'will find distinct sources of interest in what the photograph registers' and thus the potential for the re-reading and reinterpretation of photographs 'can never be fully extinguished or fully realised'. ... So from the vantage point of the present we can view Meadows' photographs as representative of a movement that produced a rich visual narrative of people, places and struggles and which can inspire and give us hope as we look to the future (Grosvenor and Macnab, 2015, p.134).

The power of such images and their ability to incite change is evident in these and a great many other works (Davila and Museu d'Art, 2005; Bogre, 2011; Berger, 2011; Setayesh and Khaghanpour, 2017), but it is possible that these methods, more than others, also offer an answer to some of the issues of ethical concern above.

Visual methods also examine the way that seeing and being seen are both subjectively and socially constituted. The combination of the visual and narrative can provide new insights into participants' subjective worlds; making what was thought familiar, strange and interesting again (Mannay, 2010, p.346).

In this sense, the image itself is less the focus of the research and more the tool of facilitation for the participant to reflect on their own subjections, providing the opportunity for greater reflexivity in the process and the meanings generated in its enactment. However, a limitation does exist here. It can only offer access into 'the way that seeing and being seen' are constituted. As a part of this study an attempt was made to return images to research participants and to ask how they might themselves interpret the ways in which they would be seen by the researcher. It was a fairly fruitless task. All responses were very much at a literal

level, for example an image of a child cleaning a blackboard was described as just this, a child cleaning a blackboard, or a group of students together showed simply that, students working together on a group task. No further layers of interpretation were added, or more thematic study offered. In this sense, the images that were produced need further narration and interpretation to make meaning, but this can perhaps only be offered when the person who took the image offers such insights or stories for analysis as a part of a wider project of social, cultural and academic exploration; otherwise the image may be viewed in literal terms alone.

In addition, there was also a lack of opportunity to adopt a protocol some might describe as more Freirian in its approach (Coghlan and Brydon-Miller, 2014), in which I might have given the camera to local teachers or their students and asked them to capture images. This was a consideration in the early planning stages, but due to the logistical challenges of not knowing the time and scope available to orchestrate this process, much less the affordance of an opportunity to ask those with the cameras to comment on what their images had captured and why, it was not possible to do this. This was another reason why the artefacts and sketches became an alternative option as a data source, but also part of the further justification for adopting a methodology relying more securely on the researcher's experience. Interestingly, when viewing pictures taken by other Western teachers for personal use rather than research, I did notice that many focused on similar images to my own; physical conditions, uniforms of students, classrooms, the school and town settings, which, again points to the similarities in my own and other volunteer experiences. This again strengthened my decision to use my images as a tool for reflection in order to interrogate the influences and perspectives informing my experience.

It is this conclusion that situates this use of images soundly within the autoethnographic paradigm and why it has proven so useful here.

4.5 Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews, both individually and in groups, is one of the more conventional qualitative methods utilised within this study and Mann (2016) would label it as the most commonly used method of data collection in education research. He suggests that 'interviews are widely held to be fundamentally useful to understand informants' beliefs, experiences and worlds (p2).' For this study, it would be impossible to consider participation in such programmes without the input of both volunteers and participants. Although this study is

primarily focused on my own experiences, I was keen to look for points of resonance between things that I personally experienced and that which other people also expressed, not in an attempt to verify my experiences in any way, but to develop an understanding of how nuanced or general they might be. In this sense, it is not only the interviews and the responses that are yielded that deliver insights, it is also insights into my own interpretations and analysis that is required. Mann describes the movement towards an interview approach that is both reflective and reflexive and explains the importance of both:

Reflection is more wide-ranging in scope and can mean simply thinking about something. Reflexivity is more explicitly tied to the self and the researcher's influence on the research and its outcomes, as well as the research's influence on the researcher...Reflexivity is much more concerned with the mutual shaping of one thing and another and we often use the term 'reflexive relationship' to signify this bi-directionality...Reflexivity involves examining yourself as researcher and also your research relationships. You can reflect on your assumptions, beliefs, 'conceptual baggage' and preconceptions and how these affect the interaction and dynamics in the interview. This will develop a stronger sense of both the interviewer 'self' and the interviewee's 'self' (Mann, 2016, p.27).

The need for such reflection and reflexivity is critical in any research, but the context of this piece, focusing on professional development in a formerly colonised location and the exchange between teachers from both the former colonised and former colonisers, there was an essential need to maintain reflection and reflexivity. 'Thinking about' the implications of this context was essential to understanding participation in and the impact of such a programme. 'Thinking about' the questions I asked, what I hoped to glean from them and how they helped to answer my research questions was undoubtedly essential. Although I had scripted opening questions, I made the decision to avoid scripting all questions, preferring to allow a more natural dialogue that would be dictated by the participants. Bell et al. (2016) advocate this approach, suggesting that those researchers able to build rapport with their participants tend to yield more insightful responses. However, they also recognise that there can be a danger in such open methods, leading to 'interviewer effects' (Bell et al. 2016, p209). This is something that was critical in this study; having used only a minimal script, though essential for allowing dialogue to develop beyond narrowly anticipated barriers. Equally, ensuring participants were not led towards an overly positive/negative view or attempting to formulate responses that would be perceived as pleasing to the perspective of the interviewer

was also a consideration, though avoiding response bias altogether is acknowledged as not being possible.

The question I used as a starting point for all interviews was: “what is it like to teach here in Uganda?” This question had two purposes; firstly, to enable me to gain further insight into the context in which the study took place and secondly, to help put participants at ease, enabling then to talk about a topic other than the CPD project where there could be no perceived ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ answers. I often followed this up with questions around the participants professional experience, e.g. how long they had been teaching, whether it was always in primary or secondary schools, in how many other schools, why they had chosen to become a teacher etc. and this established a comfortable dialogue between myself and the participants.

I also asked, “What has it been like to be involved in the programme?” This was open enough to let the participants explain their own experiences without the frames of “strengths” and “weaknesses” or a more leading question, such as, “have you enjoyed participating in the programme?” I found that invariably, the participants began with positives regardless and this was, perhaps, unavoidable, but this also gave the scope for me to then pick up on the links between this question and the previous introduction questions, for example, where a participant had mentioned a specific challenge they experienced in teaching in Uganda, I could ask if the programme had been of support in addressing this issue or able to meet their needs.

A further question I included was whether the programme was always organised by visiting teachers (in later interviews, I used the term Muzungus- the term the Ugandan teachers used for the visiting teachers). This gave me the opportunity to ask what the participants thought and felt about this practice. Again, this was a question I wanted to ask, but recognised it might not be possible to gain answers that were free from response bias. I also asked how the programme could be made better; a question that had the potential to evoke very practical responses, e.g. relating to duration or content, but that I also hoped might lead to discussions around the dynamics and relationships between the visiting and Ugandan teachers.

Whilst I was collecting this data and conducting interviews, the organisation delivering the CPD training was also conducting their own interviews by way of establishing data for an impact study (discussed previously in 3.4-previous works in this context) and I was able to

hear many responses to more direct, closed questions, e.g. “was the programme beneficial?” or “Did you enjoy the programme?” Inevitably perhaps, these answers depicted a positive response to the programme, but also exemplify a further tension. On the one hand, as stated above, I refrained from utilising this question where interviewing alone as I felt that it was easy to criticise such questions as leading and likely to generate response bias. However, it must also be considered that participants are capable of speaking their own minds. It may be equally dangerous to assume all participants are subjugated to such a degree that none are capable of independent expression of thought and would employ another very misleading ‘single story.’ Had the circumstances of the interviews been different and I had been able to divorce myself more fully from the questions being asked by the organisation, I would have preferred not to have heard or drawn on responses to such questions in order to reduce the ambiguity over response bias, but the confines of the project in terms of duration and opportunity for data collection made this unavoidable at times.

The remaining questions in my interviews, however, were not structured ahead of time and evolved in response to the dialogue established. The technique used (semi-scripted or conversational interviews), although less structured, has been positioned as leading to both greater and lesser levels of interviewer effects such as interjection or response bias (Mizock, Harkins & Morant, 2011; West et al., 2018). The extent to which the responses in this study might be impacted in such ways is impossible to determine. It was not my intention to influence the participants in my interviews, yet this is something that I have needed to be vigilant of. As illustrated above, there is also a danger that researchers can perceive influence wherein there is none; that I might assume an influence that does not exist to the extent to which I believe it might, nor at all. In light of such conflicting opinions the success of attempts to unpick the possible influences and effects of both interviewer and participants seems almost impossible. The use of these interviews was not, therefore, to collect quantitative data sets that were analysed in the pursuit of truths of experience. Rather, I used these interviews as tools for my own reflections; to consider how what information is exchanged informs my own understanding of the complexities of teacher-led CPD in a post-colonial context.

4.6 Collecting Artefacts/Sketches

Finally, it was my aim to add a fourth strand to the data collection process whilst in Uganda. This was that of collecting artefacts and sketches. I have become increasingly interested in the

ways in which tacit knowledge is conveyed throughout the course of my doctoral studies, recognising that not all knowledge is easily quantifiable, nor are all acts of knowledge sharing visible or easily captured. During the creativity module of this course, I engaged with artistic methods of representation in ways that had previously been unfamiliar to me; modelling clay, sketch booking, using images and objects to depict experience. This is undoubtedly what has helped to lead me towards an autoethnographic methodology that I have previously discussed; adopting a structure that allows me to employ reflection and reflexivity and aim to produce what anthropologists such as Gilbert Ryle and Clifford Geertz label as 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973, p14). I have also acknowledged that it is not possible to divorce such descriptions from my own, heavily influenced perspective and nor should I pretend to be able to do so. Referencing Lopez and Willis (2004), Hu and Little suggest:

...interpretive phenomenology acknowledges that human experience cannot be separated from the unspoken meanings that arise from the context of these experiences. An interpretive approach goes beyond describing experiences to analyse the social, political, cultural and historical forces that shape the choices available to, and taken by, individuals in particular situations (Hu and Little, 2015. p.1182).

I was also keen to use methods that forced me to confront such tensions and perform this analysis; the use of images discussed above is explored as one such method. A further method I had subsequently chosen to include was that of collecting artefacts and/or sketches produced by participants. Prior to travelling to Uganda, I had imagined asking teachers and their students to choose artefacts or objects to symbolise their experiences of teaching and learning in Uganda. Had I performed this task in the UK, I would have expected students and teachers to select objects such as physical resources; books, computers, pencil cases or articles of uniform. However, I wanted to explore what would be the representations of teaching and learning in Uganda, which to me, was far less predictable. Additionally, I felt these artefacts and sketches would be opportunities to garner greater understanding of not only the culture in which the teacher-led CPD, and the research itself, was taking place, but also to encourage greater reflexivity in terms of preconceptions and assumptions.

There is an underlying understanding that tacit knowledge and understanding of the nuances of cultures are not always easily captured and this data collection method, informed by arts-based practices, draws on previous works that have sought to develop interpretations and sensitivity to that tacit knowledge through the embodiment of cultural and/or professional

knowledge in the form of artefacts. Holtham et al. (2013, p2) offer one such example, whereby they draw on the works of Merleau-Ponty (1962) and Dreyfus (1996) and trace embodiment theory to the seventeenth century:

We can trace the post-medieval evolution of embodiment in strategy particularly from the Marquis de Louvois as war minister of France, when in 1686 he commissioned scale model cities for military strategy (Fayard, 2012; Google Cultural Institute, 2013). Another milestone was the contribution of Brech in 18th-century Sweden through his *Theatrum Oeconomico-Mechanicum*, and his use of models and samples of industrial objects (Liedman and Persson, 1992). Recent years have seen a wide variety of contemporary approaches (for example, Heracleous and Jacobs, 2011).

Holtham et al. utilised 'transitional objects (Winnicott, 1987) as an explicit part of research and consultancy processes related to business strategy' (2013, p2). Whilst Winnicott coined this term in reference to objects that were familiar to small children, representing comfort and security, both as a child and perhaps in later life, here they are used to represent familiar objects of business; embodying cultural processes and ritual. The benefit of including this 'art-based' and 'sensographic' approach was considered by Holtham et al. to be:

a powerful catalyst for learning, but calls for processes which promote slow and deep learning rather than fast and shallow learning (Claxton, 1997; MacGilchrist, 2010). To achieve this, we also advocate the integration of reflective practices (Bolton, 2010) to support such slow approaches to learning, as an essential tool in the promote the development of lasting intrapersonal insights (2013, p16.).

Therefore, the inclusion of this method was resultant of the decision to make a conscious attempt to access the 'slow and deep' learning discussed above and to ensure a fuller understanding of the Ugandan teachers and students' culture(s) be achieved. This approach has been successfully employed in other contexts with both teacher professionals and students alike. Moate, Hulse, Jahnke & Owens, (2019) adopted the use of sketchbooks to encourage reflections on an international programme of teacher education, whilst, during the Moving Minds project, Parker, Hiatt and Marley (2006) facilitated the inclusion of students' artwork with the consequence of students having 'a heightened awareness of the role they play in their community at home and at school, leading to an increased sense of personal identity (p.94).' I hoped to access those tacit, intrapersonal insights by reflecting not only on my own

perceptions and experiences, but on those of my participants, once again informing my own reflective and reflexive methods.

These varying methods utilised in this thesis were employed in a conscious attempt to constantly strive for alternative sources of evidence that could be used to triangulate the data of my own experiences, of my own journals and insights. I wanted to layer a polyphony of evidence and multi-perspectivism. The rationale behind the use of each method and the parameters of its use have been explored. I will now demonstrate why autoethnography was selected as the methodology most fitting for this research and as a result of these methods.

4.7 Analysis of Data

In analysing the data collected, I have chosen to author an autoethnographic text that, as stated, combines narrative experience, as gleaned from all of the methods detailed above, with analysis through theoretical lenses. For each experience, image, reflexive journal entry or interview, I have sought to locate a theory that enables greater depth of understanding. At times, this has led to complexities that cannot be resolved easily and so I have then looked for more data that sheds greater light on the experience or theory. This is, in some ways, an unconventional approach to autoethnography; to layer multiple methods of data collection with theoretical concepts and then to interrogate the emerging analysis yet further by looking for correlating data, but this is born out of a desire to move beyond autobiographical accounts and towards insightful and perceptive synthesis of experience and theory.

Using the subsidiary questions identified in the earlier Research Questions section of the Introduction Chapter, I approach the data thematically; identifying where the data connects to and provides insight towards a question:

1. How is teacher-led CPD experienced by teachers from vastly different cultural contexts?
2. Are teacher-led professional development programmes delivered by Western teachers to Ugandan teachers a form of neo-colonialism?
3. Can Western-led programmes have a positive impact?

The insights gleaned are later examined in the conclusion in response to my main research question: What are the tensions that characterise continuing professional development (CPD)

when a Western educator is involved in provision in a non-Western context? In a thesis such as this, operating within an interpretative phenomenological paradigm, there is no room for 'findings' or 'results' as they cannot exist outside the parameters of personal experience. However, I believe the nuanced perspective from which I write in a unique setting, offers a significant contribution to the understanding of training and professional development programmes delivered in non-western contexts by western volunteers. There has been a growing trend towards 'voluntourism' in non-western countries for some time, but it still only recently that participants and the organisations they are working alongside have begun to consider the potentially harmful ramifications, particularly when working with the vulnerable or young children. However, before all global collaboration of this kind is unfairly dismissed as negative, it was important for me to critically examine my own experiences, whilst remaining open to viewing both the negative and positive consequences.

As can be seen from Table 2 (page 78), there was an expansive body of data collected during the fieldwork window for this study; over 10,800 words of journal entries, 700 photographic images, over 200 minutes of interviews and sketches from 13 participants. However, it was not possible to interrogate every example of data fully within the constraints of this thesis.

It was necessary for me to collate and review all data prior to composing the autoethnographic text. I first worked with the images collected. Initially, I eliminated images that had duplicates or very similar images repeated. I then categorised the images by grouping them together according to their subject matter. This was not the coding of themes that might occur in more quantitative studies, but rather, as this was an autoethnography groupings that were dictated through my own experiences. I grouped together images of the town and location in which I had worked, some of which revealed the physical space, some which I felt revealed the culture of the place in more detail. A second grouping of images focused on the schools; on the buildings, facilities, classrooms, recreational activities, kitchens, mealtimes, dormitories and resources available. Another group consisted of images of students and learning activities, where I had captured students in class working, writing, counting, cleaning the blackboard, working together in groups, responding to questions. A further group of images captured participation in the programme; teachers attending workshops, delivering training, the university campus where ceremonies were held at the start and end of the programme, group work being undertaken between the local and visiting teachers. Finally, there were images that did not fit these categories, but which I had taken for other reasons, for example, the pictures of young children in the workplace; being a mother myself, I was

interested in the ways in which Ugandan teachers take their infants to work with them. A further example was of the plans and foundations at another school which I had worked with substantially; I had found these exciting and indicative of the strides being made towards further development of educational opportunities in the area. I also collected images of the materials used by the organisation to evaluate the programme as I found these to be another area of interest.

Once I had collated the images in this way, I again reduced the number of images by removing images that were similar in nature, if not content, e.g. where I had images of multiple school buildings or images of similar classroom scenes. I reduced the number of images to around seventy images at this time and then analysed these images more substantially. I made notes on each image, detailing what it showed (in a literal sense), why I had captured the image and then reflected on what else might be read or understood from the image. For example, an image of two large saucepans cooking on an open fire was utilised. I annotated this image with the label 'inside the school kitchen' and then my accompanying notes focused on the physical materials used and the foods cooked, contrasts between this image and what would be a more familiar canteen space in my own culture and then a deeper interpretation of the ways in which food might be perceived in these differing cultures as 'a practical necessity' or a 'luxury/indulgence' that 'serve the capitalist, consumerist agenda.' This is a process some (Scarles, 2010) would refer to as 'photo-elicitation' and aligns closely with visual autoethnography, suggesting reading images in this way:

opens spaces of understanding; transcending the limitations of verbal discourse and opening spaces for creativity and appreciation, reflection and comprehension as researcher and respondent explore the intricate performances through which knowledge and encounters of self and other are enlivened (Scarles, 2010, p906).

This exercise was repeated for each of the seventy images that I had selected, even though only a handful (eight) images were included in the final write up of the autoethnographic data text (the additional collated images have been retained and are available for review). I viewed this process as significant step in analysing the data collected because rather than just viewing the images, I ensured that I read the images fully. My notes enabled me initially to expand my understanding and meaning making from the images captured, but then also gave me data on which to reflect further and interrogate more fully, catching my own thinking and perspectives between the time at which the image was taken and then later reviewed, making

connections also with the theoretical concepts and reading I had encountered throughout the literature review.

As Pink (2007) suggests:

visual research methods are not purely visual. Rather, they pay particular attention to visual aspects of culture. Similarly, they cannot be used independently of other methods; neither a purely visual ethnography nor an exclusively visual approach to culture can exist (Pink, 2007, p. 21).

Once I had finished working with the images, I used these to identify connections with the themes in the journal entries, interviews and sketches utilised in my other data collection methods. This process formed a triangulation of data, not in the positivist sense of trying to prove validity at all, but rather in locating layers of commonality. Though I transcribed all interviews in full and had thousands of words in journal entries, I again utilise relatively small amounts in direct quotation throughout the Discussion: autoethnographic reflections chapter. This is not because any of this data was lost or ignored, but rather that the snippets used speak more directly to the themes identified within the images or address most directly the research questions specified. This layering is how I have come to achieve Geertz's 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973, p.14). It was not enough for me to simply describe events and reflect upon them in isolation, I wanted to build up a polyphony of details that synthesised in order to more clearly present lived experience. This, as Scarles suggests, 'offers pathways to realising the situatedness of self, alongside others that encourages self- reflexivity and critical agency' (Scarles, 2010, p.910). An overview of the data analysis stages can be seen in the diagram in Table 3 on page 97.

Unlike a more empirical study that might have consisted of a presentation of data, and then elicited findings, I have chosen not to approach this study in this way. It is the autoethnographic reflections on the data gathered whereby there is a substantial discussion of this data and where its possible meanings and implications are primarily discerned. This is located within the Discussion: autoethnographic reflections section, before the final conclusions are then drawn. In this chapter, I have detailed the methodology and methods utilised for this thesis, the rationales behind their selection and the ways in which data was analysed. In the chapter that follows, I will explore the ethical considerations that were contemplated and acknowledged prior to completing this thesis.

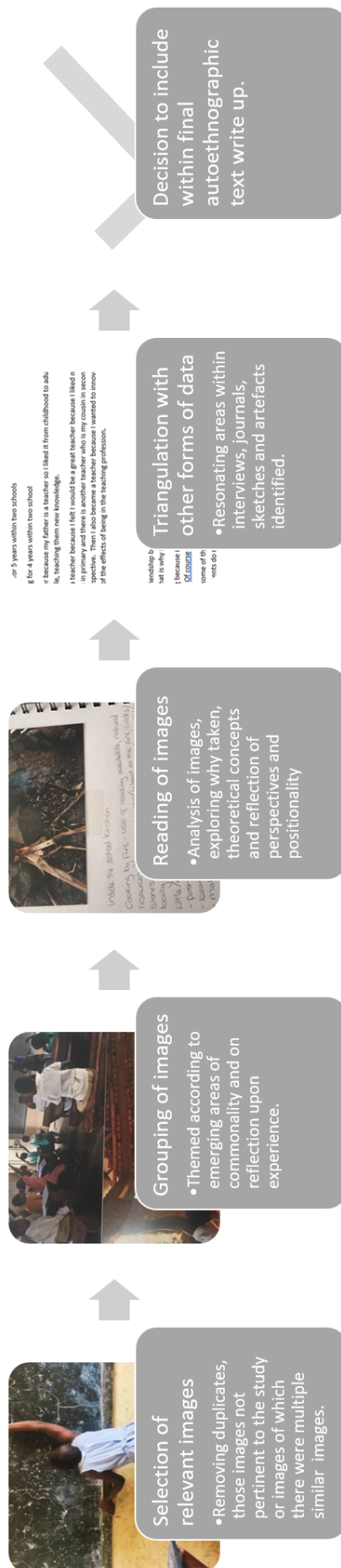


Table 3: Data Analysis Process

5.0 Ethical Considerations

As with all research, there were a number of ethical considerations to be negotiated prior to this study taking place. Here I explore what these were, the guidance and approval undertaken and the specific concerns addressed in terms of the methods and methodology adopted in the context of this thesis.

Ethical guidance and approval were sought and granted in accordance with The University of Chester's Key Ethical Principles for Research within the Faculty of Education and Children's Services (McKay, 2013) and The British Educational Research Association's Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2004). BERA have, since the data collection window, updated these guidelines with a forth edition of these guidelines (2018) and this thesis is complicit with the standards detailed within.

Prior to travelling to Uganda, I was acutely aware of the ethically troubling nature of this research. I was concerned and spent much time researching and discussing the challenges with my supervisors. At the forefront of my mind were the concerns of fair representation and obtaining informed consent in challenging circumstances and these concerns have remained prevalent at every stage of the study. Below I explore how I addressed the concerns regarding informed consent, but it should be stated that the former issue of representation weighed heavily as I planned the project, particularly prior to changing from a case-study methodology to an autoethnographic study, was felt throughout the fieldwork and data collection stages of the project and during the write up of this thesis. It is an issue that can never be comfortably resolved and so remains troubling and this is, in my opinion, a positive standpoint to adopt. Pretending such issues can be neatly tidied away and settled would lead to complacency and only increase the likelihood of misrepresentation. To remain troubled by these issues has afforded me opportunities for greater introspect and reflection, constant revision and questioning of not only my actions and writing, but also my language use and even to examine the thinking behind that language use. This was uncomfortable at times; to review my work and interrogate its ethical integrity objectively proved difficult as it has been challenging to see issues from beyond my own perspectives. However, it is essential to try to do so. I frequently questioned how other people might have felt reading my work; what would the subject of an image have felt or said in response? Would my accounts be considered accurate by other people at the events featured? This is not to suggest that I focused on whether others

would agree with my interpretations or emotional response to events, but rather that I hoped the depiction of events at least would resonate with others' experiences as well as my own.

Of all methods, the use of images has perhaps been the most ethically challenging. These challenges are multi-dimensional. Firstly, because of the nature of photography being more spontaneous than traditional or quantitative methods. Secondly, because of concerns regarding the need to include children as subjects within the images. Finally, because of the language and cultural barriers to obtaining informed consent.

Gallagher et al. (2010) critically reviewed the guidelines surrounding informed consent for children in school-based settings in a number of seminal texts. They note the complexities of The British Educational Research Association's Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2004), The British Psychological Society's Code of Ethics and Conduct (British Psychological Society, 2006) and Alderson and Morrow's (2004) Ethics, social research and consulting with children and young people. Of these texts, Gallagher et al. observe that children are either often not explicitly referred to or that the guidelines in place are largely 'unrealistic expectation for many projects' (p475). All sources agree that consent must be obtained, should be 'informed' and that an understanding of how data (or images) are to be used should be understood. They catalogue five problems surrounding the issue of informed consent with child participants; Information, understanding, authority, capacity and voluntariness.

Gallagher et al. explain that information supplied to participants may not be read or understood and that the intention for transparency cannot always be upheld because it can be impossible to fully anticipate all outcomes. Understanding, although strived for by researchers is not easily verified as misunderstandings are not always easily identified. Additionally, issues arise surrounding 'authority' because children or vulnerable people may not be able to give consent and, if they are considered able to do so, there may be legal and organisational barriers to consent, with parents and other professionals still acting as 'gatekeepers.' This links to the further issue of capacity whereby those who are incapable of giving their consent are excluded from research and so their voices are subsequently not heard. Finally, 'voluntariness' is depicted as difficult to achieve because although 'outright coercion' is easily avoided, subtle or unintentional forms of persuasion can still occur, e.g. peer pressure or encouragement from elders.

Gallagher et al. (2010) acknowledge that the issue with many of the ethical guidelines that exist is that they frequently do not recognise that 'informed consent is unable to account for the messy, compromised position of research participants, especially children in schools' (p479) and I would suggest this 'messy, compromised position' is only further exacerbated in situations such as mine where there are notions of power, race, culture and postcolonial contexts at play, not to mention literacy and language barriers that I was unable to guess the extent of prior to arrival.

In the face of such complications, it is easy to see why some researchers might opt to omit students' data or images all together. This was certainly something that I considered; was the value of these images such that I could afford to keep them in my study, despite these unavoidable and, to some degree, insurmountable challenges? However, whilst in Uganda, it became abundantly clear to me that images of everyday life, of moments in schools and of expression of cultural practices, were to be enormously beneficial, both to me in terms of trying to understand my own position within the study, but also with regard developing a richer, more multi-dimensional narrative of the experience.

For these reasons, I have chosen to utilise and include some images, though I have chosen only to include images that ensure any subjects captured, adults or children, are not easily identifiable. I acknowledge that ethically, this is still 'messy and compromised,' but look to Sarah Pink's work on Visual ethnography to provide further ethical guidance. Drawing on her own experience of using visual methods of photography and video in ethnographic research Pink explains:

The question of whether an ethnographer has permission to photograph or video differs from situation to situation and according to whom we listen. Often it seems obligatory to initially negotiate official permission to video or photograph with institutional gatekeepers. However, permission to video or photograph individuals in their capacity as participants in events is usually best negotiated with each individual group. The ethics of obtaining permissions vary in different research contexts, according to project aims and the agendas of researchers, informants and other interested parties (Pink, 2005, p.41).

Again, there is no precise formula to be followed here. In the context in which this research was taking place, consent was obtained from the gatekeepers (headteachers and class

teachers) and from the participants themselves (students in some cases), but it was not possible to secure parental consent for two reasons: it was not possible or practical as a result of time constraints and, more importantly, it is not culturally normative to do so. All teachers, headteachers and intermediaries from the organisation with which I was working concurred that it was not 'needed' or 'normal' to do so. One teacher, seemingly offended by the suggestion of it, said that parents trust teachers to care for their children as if they were their own in Uganda and that parents would be bewildered or even irritated to be imposed upon to give consent in this way.

For these reasons, it would perhaps have been simpler to decide to remove students from this study. It is, after all, research concerned with the experiences of being involved with teacher led CPD and some might suggest that their input is superfluous. However, the inclusion of students in the images were, to me, critical. As a teacher, I am motivated by the desire to help and support students and, through my work, I am lucky to get to know many students and see them succeeding through many different measures and from all walks of life. Understanding the role that my Ugandan counterparts play hinges on understanding their students and the images, I felt, were not purely an opportunity to offer supporting evidence of observations I personally had made, nor just illustrations of points elicited through discourse with other participants, but more than this; an opportunity to show far more than could explained through words alone. Many of the images visually depicted a plethora of ideas and themes that had featured in my own writing and experiences, but, more than this, they connected and honed-in on tacit knowledge that I had struggled to articulate and express without them. Rather than limiting this study to nothing more than a narrative account of the teacher-led professional development programmes themselves, the images have enabled me to focus more acutely on the complexities that I, as a participant, and others too would likely experience or be faced with in a similar role.

Having decided to use these images, the issue of how informed 'informed consent' was remained an ongoing ethical consideration. Although I created and always took and distributed participant information sheets and consent forms, often these were signed with little effort made to read their content and, as stated, in the case of minors, it was not the custom of schools to send such forms home. I was frequently told that it was the teacher's role to consent to actions undertaken whilst within the physical setting of a school and, even if I were to ask to supersede this (which in itself could have been damaging to the rapport I had built with Ugandan teacher colleagues and culturally insensitive), both literacy and language

barriers would likely prevail. Whilst it was my expectation to communicate with parents, it was culturally incongruent to do so, which again raised the question, how informed then was 'informed consent?'

This is not an issue unique to the parameters of my research. Many others have experienced such issues (Mandava et al. 2012, Molyneux et al. 2005, Molyneux, Peshu and Marsh 2004, Newton and Appiah-Poku 2007). How then could such issues be overcome? The path of least resistance, would no doubt, have been to accept teacher consent on behalf of the students and their parent, yet in different spheres of research the response to this issue have been quite varied; in clinical trials, Mandava et al. 2012 reported that participants reported 'pressure from fear of the consequences of withdrawing, including decreased access to healthcare,' but offered little guidance in how to overcome:

Future studies should include detailed investigation of associations between cultural norms and attitudes, and socio-demographic characteristics such as education, literacy and socio-economic status to better understand the impact of these factors on informed consent in both developed and developing countries. Innovative strategies and rigorous studies are sorely needed to facilitate improvement in informed consent to better satisfy one of the fundamental requirements of ethical research (Mandava et al., 2012. p.8).

Even with an understanding of my participants' education, literacy and socio-economic status, I was no better placed to 'satisfy' informed consent. Whilst many researchers point to the need to review consent procedures, little is offered to resolve this tension. Whilst participants (or their representatives) might well give their consent to participation in a study, often they are not as well 'informed' as ethical guidelines would suggest:

...the difficulties of achieving full comprehension in any setting, the distinction between being informed and consenting, and underlying issues of poverty and powerlessness suggest more fundamental rethinking of the standard view of informed consent and its centrality. (Molyneux et al., 2004. p2547)

There is, of course, a need to maintain some sense of perspective within this discussion; of course, a study into teacher to teacher CPD is unlikely to result in harm to the participants in the same ways in which a clinical trial has the potential to. Ethical approval for obtaining research permissions in this way was sought and given, but it is worthy of noting the ways in

which I experienced a short-falling in both the protocols I attempted to adhere to and their application in this specific context. This is not a unique issue; (Flewitt, 2005) highlights both the difficulties in working with children and the use of images, referencing several others who have grappled with the same conundrum:

However, visual methods of data collection in education research do not have a history of established ethical practice (Prosser, 2000). The main corpus of observational data collected for this study was video footage, and as the analysis focussed on how children used combinations of words, body movements, manipulation of objects, gaze and facial expression to express meanings in the settings of home and preschool, the use of visual images was sometimes imperative for the construction of a convincing argument. This resulted in a long personal journey through a minefield of ethical predicaments. Although participants' names may be changed in written accounts and erased from audio recordings, visual images make them easily recognisable not only whilst in the public sphere of work but also in the privacy of their homes. This puts children at particular risk and renders parents and practitioners vulnerable to criticism, anxiety and self-doubt (Flewitt, 2005. p.6),

As a suggestion of how to circumnavigate such difficulties, Flewitt offers:

If precise detail is not essential, then digital technology has made possible the obscuring of on-screen images, such as 'fuzzing' participants' faces to protect identity, or using a relatively simple technique to obscure on-screen images by reducing pixel count' (p7).

Another technique could also be to replace photographic images with sketches. I am no more a sketch artist than I am a photographer, but there are computer programmes more than capable of such amendments, this is something I have experimented with, but ultimately decided that the images I have chosen did not require this step to be taken as they posed very little risk of identification to the participants.

As discussed in the Analysis of Data section previously (4.7), a further challenge was experienced in selecting and deselecting which images to utilise. Questions needed to be asked around why some images were privileged over others, why images had been captured in the first place and whether these images did to any extent embody an exploitative or objectifying 'colonial gaze' (Pink, 2007, p.22). This process was addressed through the

notations made during the reading of images that allowed a fuller analysis and reflection on each image.

A further ethical consideration when reading the images was that of the fairness or validity of my own interpretations. As referenced in the Methods section of the Use of Images, I was reluctant to impose my reading as the only possible reading of an image discussed this issue at length with my supervisors. It was for this reason that I had attempted to send the images I chose to analyse back to fellow participants in Uganda. However, this was, as previously discussed, an unsuccessful exercise as the responses received were pragmatic rather than analytical. It became apparent that seeking validity of my interpretations in this was not appropriate. This is why the additional data collection methods were so critical; they enabled me to find points of resonance between what I saw in the images, what I had observed and recorded in my reflexive journals and the comments made by my interview and sketch participants.

Ethical considerations remained integral to the success of the interviews. All participants were asked to read and agree to the contents of participant information sheets via signed consent forms prior to participation. This was perhaps more simply achieved than other data collection methods as all teachers (both Ugandan and volunteers) deliver lessons in English and have high levels of literacy. As per BERA (2018) guidelines, anonymity is ensured via the removal of participant names, genders and schools. However, despite my best efforts to ensure that this study and participation within it was confidential, because of the nature of the project occurring in a specific time, place and with specific participants who are a part of or connected to the organisation hosting the programme, it was never going to be possible to ensure complete confidentiality within the organisation. Participants were briefed on this ahead of participation. People who know you well may be able to identify you as they are familiar with ideas you share or comments you may make. Having said that, anonymity beyond the immediacy of the other participants was provided by the use of pseudonyms and gender markers being removed from the study. All recordings of the conversations were and continue to be kept in an encrypted, password protected folder and will be destroyed at the end of the EdDoc period. Participants were also informed that they were able to withdraw from the study without explanation at any time.

The 'messy' nature Gallagher et al. (2010) describe also applied to the interviews. At times, I had little notice of the schools that I would be attending and the duration of time available.

Interviews were often conducted in small windows and without the taken fore-granted expectations of privacy that I would anticipate in more familiar contexts. For example, many of the schools did not have a private space; there was no office or vacant room in which to conduct an interview. In addition, there was also a tendency to visit schools alongside the organisation's representatives gathering data for their impact study. I was troubled by this in particular because in ideal circumstances, I would have wanted greater distance to be perceived between my study and the work of the organisation. However, logistically, this was not possible. Transport to and from schools was not at my own disposal; the drivers and vehicles were arranged by the organisation and separate trips to the same schools, often quite some distance away (travelling 40-60 minutes away was not uncommon), was not a viable use of resources for the organisation. This could only be addressed by my explicitly explaining that my role was not attached to the organisation, but I could not be confident that this would entirely mitigate the pragmatics of the situation.

A similar protocol to the interviews was adopted in gathering the artefacts and sketches. I utilised a scripted and approved participant information script to explain what the task involved and why I was asking students to participate. Students were asked to participate only if they felt comfortable in doing so and were told that they too could decide not to participate or withdraw should they wish at any time. Students were keen to sign their sketches and were not prevented from doing so, but names have been obscured in the representation of their work.

In many ways, the reflexive journals were the least ethically challenging of the methods adopted. These are written purely from personal experience and contain, as Smith (2006) attests, a 'confessional' narrative that expresses and uncovers my own interpretations and understanding of situations as they arose. I strode to avoid self-censorship and to record thoughts and reactions as they occurred. This sometimes exposes my own naivety, inexperience or misconceptions and, even my place as a product of the Western, globalised world in which I live. However, these tensions are not concealed within the autoethnographic text, but rather explored in order to illuminate the tensions of this experience. There were journal entries that I decided not to include in the write up of the autoethnographic text because I decided they reflected personal moments or could be misconstrued by other people reading them, reflecting negatively not on myself or the organisation, but on the people featured within them. This decision was further justified by the reasoning that they

contributed nothing towards the specific focus and research questions of the study, though I do recognise that they did develop my understanding of the context in which I was working.

Whilst I clearly felt and continue to feel multiple tensions around the nature of ethical considerations, the work of Nicholson (2005) has been helpful in attempts to understand and navigate these ethical dilemmas. Drawing on earlier works from Lather (1991), Mouffe (1992) and Mauss' concept of the gift (1954), Nicholson explores the need to develop an 'ethical praxis' that, whilst 'based on secure principles, does not seek to discriminate against a plurality of perspectives and multiple ways of living' (Nicholson, 2005, p.163) and maps 'new possibilities for playing out relations between identity and difference, margins and centres' (p.164). Nicholson explains that in her chosen field, applied drama, fixed practices and predetermined boundaries are not identifiable. The same could be said of the context of this research. However, rather than this excusing a lack of focus or ethical ambiguity, it should present an opportunity:

It also offers an opportunity to renew a commitment to openness, in which practitioners recognise that their role is not to *give* participants a voice – with all the hierarchical and authoritarian implications that phrase invokes – but to create spaces and places which enable the participants' voices to be heard (Nicholson, 2005, p169).

Nicholson's distinction here between giving of voices and hearing voices is one that I have found to be comforting. I have been clear throughout this study that it was neither possible nor ethical for me to assume that I could portray adequately or accurately the perspectives belonging to anyone other than myself and this conviction was a primary motivation in the negotiation of an autoethnographic methodology. However, the use of multiple methods of data collection, some focusing on my own experiences, others aiming to elicit my understanding of others, have helped me to at least attempt to hear voices besides my own. Whilst I might not have always been able to succeed in hearing all voices equally or unfiltered by circumstance, it is the pursuit and commitment to openness and the willingness to be self-critical that enables confidence in the ethical and moral praxis of this study.

In this chapter, I have explored the ethical considerations navigated in the course of this study and the specific ways in which each method undertaken was considered in light of adhering to ethical guidelines and practices.

6.0 Discussion: Autoethnographic Reflections

What follows is not a presentation of data in the empirical sense, but an ‘experiential text’ (Denzin, 2014) that does not pretend to represent the ‘real’ or a validated version of ‘truth,’ but rather a subjective, emotive and meaningful presentation of individual experience. Adopting the mixed methods autoethnographic approach, as detailed in the Methods and Methodology chapter, I draw on my encounters and key incidents of my time participating in a programme of teacher to teacher professional development in rural communities of Uganda. These instances contribute knowledge or understanding in response to the following subsidiary research questions:

1. How is teacher-led CPD experienced by teachers from vastly different cultural contexts?
2. Are teacher led professional development programmes delivered by Western teachers to Ugandan teachers a form of neo-colonialism?
3. Can Western-led programmes have a positive impact?

Ultimately, they contribute to the overarching research question: What are the tensions that characterise continuing professional development (CPD) when a Western educator is involved in provision in a non-Western context?

6.1 Background

The opportunity to participate in a programme for teacher-led professional development arose after a recruitment promotion for volunteers caught my attention online. I was attracted initially to the organisation because of the views expressed in terms of fairness and equality being achieved through improving access to education across all areas of the world, promises of ‘bringing teachers together to accelerate quality education for all.’ The promotional materials spoke directly to my own values and beliefs surrounding education. Accessing education is not in and of its own right enough to ensure students learn and make progress and, drawing on The United Nations’ Global Goals for Sustainable Development and papers from UNESCO, the organisation made an extremely strong case for how and why improved teaching skills was a significant need in need of fulfilment in order to achieve education for all. They explained that the introduction of universal primary education had been largely successful in getting children to attend school, but demonstrated that this alone was

insufficient, 'Around 387 million children were on course to leave primary school unable to read or do basic maths. In 2015, UNESCO declared this as a global learning crisis' and quoting the Department for International Development in proposing that improving the quality of teaching and learning was the key to solving such problems.

Since becoming a teacher in 2006, I have believed that the best way in which teachers can improve their practice is by sharing and collaborating with other teachers. I've always found the shared learning experiences of my academic courses and those of my professional career to be hugely rewarding and attribute my own development as a pedagogue and practitioner to such opportunities. I have actively sought opportunities for collaboration in order to enhance my professional skills and practice, advocating its value, as many others also do (Admiraal et al. 2016, Charteris 2016, Charteris and Smardon 2016, Makopoulou 2018). Immediately, the rationale behind such a programme subsequently made sense to me. Eventually, after discussions with my family and employer about the practicalities of my own participation, I contacted the organisation.

Until this point, I had not considered the scope or possibility of conducting research in the field, nor had I begun to theorise the implications of such programmes. However, once I had spoken to a director of the organisation and conversation had turned to my own studies and she relayed that she had recently written a thesis paper for her MA course whilst on placement, I began to consider participation in the programme as an opportunity to conduct research. The organisation was very happy for this to take place and, having discussed the proposal with my supervisors, I became increasingly interested in the prospect of conducting research in the field during my fellowship place with the programme in Uganda.

From the outset, the aims and tone of the work we (I as a part of the social enterprise and as one of multiple volunteers) would carry out were directed towards improving the quality of teaching and learning and raising the aspirations and attainment of both the teachers and the students we would work with. Within much of the literature I received from the organisation, there was also an emphasis on what volunteers themselves would learn from participation in the programme in terms of sharing knowledge with each other and across the continental divides. However, the cultures and contexts that volunteers, such as myself, would work in were also of interest to me. I began to consider: how were programmes such as these received and experienced in 'developing countries' as per my first subsidiary question? Would they be perceived as wanted, needed or of benefit in the communities that we would be working with?

What would it be like to participate in such a programme that, though clearly comprised of positive intent and a desire to help and support teachers and their students, had clear undertones of colonial thought; Westerners bringing knowledge, enlightenment and progress to the African Other, as a form of neo-colonialism (as per my second subsidiary research question). This alarm bell could not be ignored and so I entered the programme with a mixture of positive intentions, hopeful optimism that a dialogue could be established and both the volunteers and the local teachers would learn from one another, rather than in a one-directional power exchange and aware of feelings of trepidation that this might not be the case. This resonated with Wenger's consideration of the implications of learning, 'You cannot give people knowledge without inviting them into an identity for which this knowledge represents a meaningful way of being' (Farnsworth, 2016, p.145). Firstly, who would be giving whom what knowledge? Would this be a one directional transfer of knowledge or a two-way exchange and what kind of identities would this exchange of knowledge invite the participants to enter in to? The term knowledge has been problematised by Farnsworth in discussion of Foucauldian theory, suggesting that,

We talk about practice, regimes of competence and knowledgeability, but we refrain from defining knowledge. Whose practice and competence gets to be viewed as 'knowledge' is a complex historical, social and political process (Farnsworth, 2016. p.145).

In light of the complex history of Uganda and the challenging social and political processes that inform any attempt to influence a system of education, what sort of 'knowledge' was being transferred and who had defined it as such? These were all tensions to be reflected upon throughout participations in the programme and in answering the final of my three subsidiary questions: Can Western-led programmes have a positive impact?

6.2 First Impressions

Before heading to Uganda, I believed I'd done a reasonable amount of research, completing training through the organisation that I was to work with, but also my own research. However, much of the empirical evidence I looked at had made little sense (percentages that were statistically impossible as referenced in the literature review) or that gave a theoretical perspective but did little to give me a working understanding of the country to which I travelled. It is, I believe, critical to spend some time reflecting upon how I came to

understand the culture in which I was situated in order to demonstrate my position within the research undertaken.

My first impressions really didn't form until I landed in Entebbe, the international airport a few miles South of the capital city. One of the first of many moments of cultural dissonance that I would experience upon reaching Uganda was the signage in the airport upon my arrival. Having only travelled previously to European countries, the USA and Egypt, primarily for tourism, I had never really seen anything other than the obligatory customs notices and no smoking signs in an airport. Signs that warned of 'modern slavery' and proclaimed 'No solicitation' were not something I had expected (see Appendix 1a, 1b).

I was well aware that such crimes took place and were real issues in the country, but I had not anticipated that they were as prolific or as common place enough to warrant deterrent posters or warning signs in public places, like an airport. Logically, it makes sense that an airport would be a sensible location where potential victims of trafficking might see a poster that could alert them to the dangers of being trafficked, but as much as this made sense, it was also a surprise not least because of the language used in the posters. I felt that it put the responsibility for avoiding becoming a victim firmly with the victims. Statements such as 'Be careful who recruits you for jobs in Uganda and abroad' and 'Seek Guidance on licenced Recruitment Companies' suggested to me that rather than there being an implicit trust in the authorities to prevent human trafficking as perhaps would exist for me at home, there was instead a suggestion that the responsibility belonged to the individual. This was perhaps the first of several instances that revealed the differing approach and extent of social care in the country. Things taken for granted as the role of the state in the West; justice, schooling, healthcare, welfare etc., were viewed differently in Uganda. It is also interesting to reflect on how these images and notices might impact upon visitors, such as myself or others on the programme, to the country.

This sort of 'culture shock' (Oberg, 1960) could contribute to the Othering (Said, 1978) of the people that volunteers have come to collaborate with and support and could reinforce, support or may start to inform colonialist views; a belief in the inferiority of African countries in some respect, for example in terms of wealth, safety and security that is assumed as a given in the West. Such views have the potential to prejudice visitors towards those that are Othered, as a result of the perpetuating of a belief that responds to differences and challenges

as evidence of less civilised behaviours or attitudes. However, what was most powerful in this experience to me was the stark honesty of the signs.

Whilst in the West people are aware of such crimes as solicitation and human trafficking, it seems that Westerners are also less likely to discuss these issues so openly, rather they enjoy maintaining a healthy distance from the reality of these crimes. A belief of: they happen, but not to us and so we need never speak of it. A wilful ignorance towards the suffering caused by such crimes is displayed and maintained in preservation of civility. Here, the issues are exposed and publicly displayed, encouraging a discourse around them. This transparency resonates with my own values, but is not something I experience consistently within my own culture. This can perhaps be further understood by Tumuheki et. al (2016, p.103) who discusses the ways in which the individual is members of cultures are viewed differently in an African context, suggesting that 'because an individual does not exist alone' in African culture, rather they are all 'part of a whole' where all people belong to communities and have responsibilities to one another. The Cartesian proposition of 'I think therefore I am' is replaced by 'I am because we are and since we are therefore I am. (Lekoko & Modise 2011)' and so feigned ignorance of danger is culturally indefensible as it may put other members of your community at risk, a risk that would be unconscionable given the spirit of Ubuntu previously discussed.

This first impression and also reflection on the difference between the two cultures was strengthened in subsequent events. For example, the tour guide that took a group of us on a trip down the Nile in a small boat told a story that I recorded in my journal about a friend who had been recruited for a job in Dubai as a security guard. I wrote:

He was given blood tests as a part of the job, then taken to Dubai where he stayed in a posh hotel, five-star luxury-he said he warned his friend that it was too good to be true-must be dangerous and didn't sound right. His food had been drugged. He woke up in hospital having had a kidney removed and given to a rich Arabic man. Modern slavery to him – exploitation of poor. Promise of 5Million Ugandan shillings per month. 1 shilling = 0.00021 pounds, so £1,050 (Journal entry, July 3rd, 2017).

There was also a story shared about dogs by the boat guide after I had passed comment on his own pet, sleeping as we entered the building. I recounted what he had said:

Dogs are good-they can tell if you have a clean heart. He told us of babies rescued from trash bins, taken by dogs to the NGOs (non-government organisations)- the dogs understand it will be a good place that will look after the child. He said that dogs are 90% human-they know. I was still reeling that people who can't afford babies hide them in the trash! (Journal entry, July 3rd, 2017).

These two journal entries were written during my first day in Uganda, when staying in Jinja, a beauty spot geared towards international tourism, where I spent time upon arrival. Perhaps an attempt to help volunteers acclimatise and feel more at home before moving further downwards to the more rural areas in which we were to work. I also noted during this time my surprise at the proximity of the apparent wealth and poverty of the capital city:

What really struck me today is the stark contrast between the richer/poorer areas in the cities/towns. Kampala has some very rich, opulent areas; boutique shops and coffee shops in fancy malls. Less than a mile away- abject poverty; ramshackle shanty towns and open sewage. The stark juxtaposition left me questioning- why is this disparity so visibly clear? No social care? How are government funds distributed? Do we just do a better job of hiding/segregating the poor in the UK? (Journal entry, July 4th, 2017).

These journals also start to demonstrate that I am comparing the situations that I was presented with in Uganda with that which I am accustomed to at home. I think it crucial to the understanding of my experience to retell some of these instances in order to demonstrate that there are some cultural comparisons taking place and questioning of how different the contexts are. The differences between North and South, West and Other, Developed and Developing countries had, I think, until this point been inherent in my perceptions, but not obviously seen or exposed in my experience. For the first time, I began to question these differences explicitly. At points, I had begun to wonder how I and my fellow volunteers would be viewed by our guides and drivers. Welcome visitors? Pushy foreigners? Well-meaning do-gooders? Arrogant Westerners? What were the first impressions of us likely to be? This would surely contribute to answering the first of my research questions; how is teacher-led CPD experienced by teachers from vastly different cultural contexts?

Two incidents over these initial days helped to form some answers. Firstly, a description of a loading point alongside the river Nile:

Our guide pointed out the posts of a pontoon alongside the river. He talked about it as the first port in Africa, talked about the posts now being used for fishing, but said that they used to be where the slaves were chained to. This was not likely to be literally true-the posts were stable poles of wood in the water and would surely have rotted away long since, but the significance of them and this spot as symbols of the previous colonial history and slave trade were pointed out. I am thoroughly ashamed of this period in my national history, our history as human beings, yet it still has to be reflected upon. There was a need for the guide to express this whilst making eye contact with the British tourists-he was impressive. (Journal entry, July 3rd, 2017).

Conscious of the long tradition of anthropologists and ethnographers who have ruminated on dealing with positions of guilt and privilege in conducting field work (DeLuca and Batts Maddox, 2015) it is still necessary to note that this was an uncomfortable moment where I felt thorough shame for my own nationality, but it also enabled me to see that this was not a historical episode that had been easily forgotten or overlooked. I commented that I found the guide, 'impressive,' which he was. He had stated the historic relevance directly and without hesitation. I had been grappling with questions over how people would react to the largely white, obviously Western visitors and this was one reaction. His tone during the explanation was not filled with anger or bitterness, but rather, a matter of fact and level statement, rather than an accusation laced with emotion. There is perhaps a demonstrative of another cultural difference and potentially one of many motivations for programmes such as this to exist. Is there perhaps a need to somehow attempt to right wrongs and overcome injustice by contributing positively now? Is this how intervention is seen by either culture? A paying of a penance? An act of restitution to compensate former wrongs? It may not be the only interpretation of such acts, but it might inform one of many layers of potential meanings infused around the programme.

A contradictory event that I also journaled was that of a briefing that was given upon our arrival at the more permanent residence of the lodge where we would stay for the majority of our time in Kanungu. This occurred after a 12-hour long car journey from Jinja to Kanungu, when the group had been sent to their bandas or lodges where they would reside for the duration. I stayed in a large banda with 15 other women, who all shared 8 hand-made bunkbeds (see Appendix 2a and 2b). Electricity was available for four hours per day and there was running water available from a nearby spring for the majority of the time. Conditions were modest, but they were clean and I found them to be comfortable. The lodge site is

permanently manned by a small group of staff who cook, clean and service the facility and a night guard who patrols to ensure safety from both human and animal dangers. The journal entry reads:

Issues had arisen already when staff overheard fellows complaining about their accommodation. This was raised by (the organisation's) staff and firm explanations were given. Although the quarters were a lot less luxurious than some are used to, they were clean, fresh and well prepared for us. One of the leaders explained that less than 100m from here people don't have water, beds, mattresses, showers etc. Some were visibly shocked that their complaints had caused offense, but had clearly not appreciated the impact of their sentiments. The leaders explained that the staff here take immense pride. That criticisms are heart-felt and whilst it might be difficult to adjust, the resources that we have been given here are the very best the staff have to offer or can find (Journal entry, July 4th, 2017).

The scarcity of resources was further reinforced when we visited a 'supermarket' that day. There were numerous empty shelves and no fresh produce available at all. The scarcity of resources had perhaps not hit home for some. I remember feeling quite angry during the briefing. I disliked the way some members of the group had acted, in my view, as entitled and selfish. A flippant comment by a driver one day of 'we want you to be comfortable, we know Muzungos (a local term meaning visitor or outsider, usually associated with white people) need to be comfortable' suggested that there was a recognition from the local people that what was acceptable locally and what was acceptable to specifically white visitors was quite different. There were ongoing echoes of this inequality and difference of standards throughout the programme. The vastly different contexts are a constant reminder of physical differences between the two cultures and relative wealth or poverty. There are opportunities to overcome such differences, but there are also dangers of the dividing gulf to be simply too wide to reach a common ground, especially when visiting teachers are not sensitive enough to the challenges of the culture which they are entering. In this respect, the presence of such visitors can be seen as perpetuating difference and reinforcing colonial attitudes of Western superiority.

The noticing of differences in the ways described here is surely a natural and to be expected occurrence; to pretend people could ever be blind to difference from that which they take for granted as 'normal' within their own cultures is both unrealistic and disingenuous. The object

of post-colonial theory is not to eradicate difference, nor to pretend that it does not exist, but rather to identify the inherent hierarchical power structures that seek to elevate one culture as dominant over and superior to another. There are many differences noticed by both myself and other participants. However, the assumption of superiority from a dominant culture is demonstrative of what some (such as Nkrumah, 1967) might describe as neo-colonialism (subsidiary question 2). It is my belief that there was not a singular attitude displayed amongst the fellows, their attitudes varied as greatly as the individual members participating on the programme, each perspective a product of the culture to which they belonged. This was evident in conversations about the reasons held for entering the programme; some focusing on their own professional development, some on learning from other like-minded individuals in their profession regardless of their locale, some on sharing their (in their own opinions) superior expertise, intent on doing good to and for others who they perceived as less fortunate. The notion of helping those 'less fortunate' in some volunteers was attached to feelings of 'well-meaning pity' as Adichie describes and this was certainly uncomfortable to witness at times, but this also illustrates that there is danger in a project such as this when homogenising groups of individuals, assuming that they are no more than a part of broad cultural groups, signified as previously discussed as Western and Orient, North or South, Self and Other. Whilst the gaps in material wealth could not be more apparent, the assumptions of superior knowledge struck me as conceited and arrogant, hence my frustration towards other individuals whom I felt were being unreasonable. What is more interesting to examine, however, is what does our viewing of Others reveal about our own attitudes, assumptions and biases? This is a point that I will return to at various junctures throughout the data collected.

6.3 Cultural Integration

During the first few days in Kanungu, it was clear that there were considerable efforts being made to ensure that some cultural integration took place. For example, fellows were given some lessons in using Rukiga (pronounced Roo-chi-ga), the prevalent language local to the Kanungu district where we would be working primarily and used by the Bakiga people. As well as phrases for hello (agandi), good morning (Orilota), good afternoon (Osibilota), good evening (oraleje), titles of respectful address, such as child (mwana), Sir (sebo), Madam (nyabo), wise elder man (mzee) and wise elder woman, (mukikaru), and thank you (webale), fellows were given language phrases common to the school environment such as classroom items and common instructions so that they could better understand and communicate. This was not because communication would not have been impossible otherwise. The language of

instruction in schools is English. Rather, it was a conscious effort to demonstrate learning in multiple directions and a conscious effort to build relationships positively, as my journal entry attests:

Cultural customs caused a lot of anxiety. Many people were concerned about the specifics of greetings etc. Efforts to learn the language and fit in/ assimilate come from (the organisation), but also from the link teacher aiming to make us feel at home/integrate with the teachers. This is seen as a precursor for success creating rapport through even 'superficial' attempts at integration. Language learnt will only be slight, but the attempt will indicate, reciprocate, mutual relationship (Journal entry, July 5th, 2017).

The organisation's choice to employ multiple local link teachers who liaise between local schools, local teachers, the organisation and the international volunteers seems to be mindful of developing and cementing ongoing relationships. Obviously, these can only be limited in the space of one month but are considered valuable and necessary. If there is not a relationship or at least an atmosphere of mutual respect, how can a programme such as this hope to succeed? However, do these relationships really develop and exist or are they purely for show? A performance of equality and acceptance? It was not yet clear and perhaps never would be easy to answer such questions. Again, I considered Farnsworth's (2016, p145) conversations with Wenger; whose practice and competence is being viewed as 'knowledge' and what hierarchies of knowledge are in place? There are multiple possible readings of this choice to employ link teachers. A cynical view could be taken in which the link teacher is viewed only as a conduit between the 'knowing' and the ignorant in an archaic and outdated 'empty vessel' (Rodriguez, 2012. P180) model, but this was not my experience. There was a viewing of the link teachers as 'Mzee;' a wise and influential knowledge source, trusted by both visiting and local teachers alike. Building bridges between the two cultures and demonstrating cultural sensitivity seemed both necessary and respectful to me whilst in country and part of the aims for this thesis was to develop an understanding of the culture in which I was working on an education project, so I certainly found this valuable.

This pursuit of cultural understanding was one reason for adopting the additional method of collecting artefacts and/or sketches from the students in the schools I visited. It stemmed from my own experience in a research methodologies module where I had gained insights into my own culture and practices by choosing artefacts in this way. Similarly, I hoped to gain a

greater insight into the culture I was working and conducting research in by asking for the students to tell me what it was like to be a student, to go to school, to live in their part of the world, a place that I had never been to and wanted to learn more about. Once in schools, I quickly realised that bringing objects or artefacts was not a possibility. Many of the students boarded in school and owned very little beyond their clothing, books and a pencil. This was an interesting revelation to me. Firstly, because the students resided at the school, an increasingly uncommon practice in the UK, but also because of the realisation of a far less materialistic culture. These students did not have objects that they could bring. It now seems obvious to me, but at this early point, I believe I had not appreciated the level of poverty or its implications. In Appendix 3 I include a selection of the images sketched by the student participants and accompanying notes made about their relevance.

Some of these images might be used, as Said (1978) suggests in the articulation of differences that produce binaries, that which is 'otherwise than modernity' (Bhabha, 1996, p.1084). However, as Bhabha argues, such binaries are always fictitious. What these images demonstrate are areas of commonality between cultures; there are images of students' homes, schools, occupations or activities that they or their families might engage in. There are aspects that suggest national pride, such as the flag that recurs in multiple drawings and images of food that focus more greatly on natural produce (the mango tree), agricultural or domestic farming (chickens and hunting). Were UK students to carry out the same activity, I would expect to see similar images of their homes, schools, favourite foods or leisure activities, although there might be variations in types of occupations or foods for example, we might see the processed or more diverse ranges of food available in wealthier locations, but these could be reasoned as purely superficial and materialistic differences between parts of the world that experience lesser or greater wealth. If, as Bhabha suggests these are viewed with the intention of 'a focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences,' both the areas of commonality and difference can be appreciated. Whilst daily life may be different for these students as a result of significantly different circumstance, much of what is central and of enough importance to be represented in their sketches could be categorised as the same or similar as that which would be represented by students in the UK.

Having said that, what should not be underestimated is the impact of cultural difference. Though these images represent areas of commonality, there are significant differences articulated and these are substantial enough to be identified as what Bhabha would define as 'interstices.' He explains that:

...it is in the emergence of the interstices- the overlap and displacement of domains of difference- that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated (Bhabha, 1994. p.2).

In relating this to the aims of the programme, to support the delivery of high quality teaching and learning to children, irrespective of location, the distinctions and definitions of what constitutes 'high quality teaching and learning' has also to be interrogated. Is what is perceived as such in one part of the world, the West or the global North, the same as is considered such here? In Western systems of education there exists Western pedagogy and Western policy, purely by virtue of its design by Westerners to suit Western society. Bhabha questions, 'What is at stake in the naming of critical theory as Western?' This led to further questions at this point in the programme; Has the pedagogy and policy we are present to share become a tool that satisfies Western priorities and needs or is education universal? If we label education as Western in construct, what exists in Uganda currently becomes Other and is it then subsequently identified as inferior? How can collaborative work support this power imbalance? All of the subsidiary questions of this thesis can be examined in light of such data; How is participation experienced by the local teachers in Kanungu under the veil of such difference? To what extent does the acknowledgement of this difference create a climate for neo-colonialism and can there remain any positive impact if the programme is to be defined as neo-colonial?

At this early point in my data collection process, I felt overwhelmingly that I generated more questions than answers, a tension that remains throughout this thesis.

6.4 School Visits

On the morning of my first school visit, I paid careful attention to the guidance we had been given on dressing appropriately, taking care to cover the legs and shoulders as is considered respectable and greeting the teachers I met with my best efforts at Rukiga. I visited two schools on my first day, both primary schools. My journal description, noticing again many differences between what I observed in the rural schools of Uganda and what I am accustomed to at home, was as follows:

The school that I went to was small and sparse, the classrooms being very small, of stone construction and containing only a blackboard at the front and wooden table benches for the students to sit and write at. There were 32 students and the teacher in

a room the size of a small double bedroom. There were no lights or sockets as the school had no power and the windows were not paned with glass or any other covering; there was a doorway, but no door. The sparseness was what struck me first, but also the impact of my own presence. The children identified me as 'teacher' but also as different, as other because of my white skin. White people are perhaps more common in this area as a result of the volunteering programmes, but still a novelty. They identified me instantly as a Muzungu, but found black-skinned European and American colleagues difficult to understand because they had 'African skin' (Journal entry, July 6th, 2017).

There is an instant sense of self and Other that occurs here and it occurs in both directions; I am Othered by the students I meet, but they are also Othered by me. Although the binary exists for the students in terms of a visible and superficial difference, skin colour, I am aware of my Othering of the students and their school as I look for points of comparison with my Western school; the classroom, the blackboard, power, light, etc. and these form moments that articulate cultural differences (Bhabha 1994). However, there is also a breakdown in the binaries understood by the children when that struggle to understand how someone can be both European and black skinned or American and black skinned. Some, such as Kalua (2009) and Said (1993) would suggest that binaries have been broken down or are no longer understood to exist as binary. Bhabha would suggest they never existed at all and yet, on my first day, they exist in the minds of the students who I had come to work with. There is, of course, the fact that this is a representation of a childlike view of the world, where identities are perhaps made of component parts such as oversimplified genders or races, but there remains a question here; if the binaries are still understood to exist; black/white, North/South, Westerner/Other, rich/poor, does it not suggest that there is still a danger that a programme such as this is still seen as a colonial act? The rich, North/Western, white Europeans or Americans bringing knowledge to the poor South/Othered, black Africans? Can it be said that this is not what is happening if the dissolution of binaries is not accepted or understood by all involved (or as per Subsidiary Question 2, as neo-colonialism)? Alternatively, perhaps it can be suggested with equal merit that the dissolution of binaries can only occur if such oppositions are and continue to be called into question. It is possible that the presence of teachers who do not fit students' understanding of binary identities helps to dissolve them, could this be considered, as per Subsidiary question 3, as a positive impact of such a programme.

During this first day, I was conscious of how I viewed the school, children and community and I was mindful of the sort of preconceptions I might have and the realities of my own experience. At one moment, the students and I sat together watching half of the class play a football match and they were avidly curious about the contents of my backpack, investigating the sterling money in my purse, my photocard driving license, the strong-tasting mints, even the hand sanitiser and I became aware that these items, common-place and unremarkable to me, were peculiar rarities to them. Utilising Xifra and McKie (2011, p406), Davis (2013, p126) explains the way in which images of peoples that are Othered are instrumental in our perceptions of them, whilst Mheta (2015) describes the ways in which the media is guilty of 'parading malnourished and naked children in front of camera' in order to create the perception of Others that is defined as desperate, dependent and in need. My real-life experience was not such as either describe. These children and their communities were very different from my own and things that I took for granted as symbolised by these objects; money, travel, luxury items, easy access to medicine and sanitation, were not so abundant here in the community to which I belong, but this did not instil any feeling of 'well-meaning pity' as Adichie (2016, p.87) describes. Rather, an awareness that I represented privilege that occurs through no virtue other than luck of location and culture to which you are born into, an understanding of an imbalance in resources, opportunities and wealth. It is impossible to deny that this imbalance exists, but rather than taking pity as might be the case, it reinforced a belief that equal opportunity to education might help to readdress the balance rather than allowing it to expand the gulf between our lived experiences. This then can be said to evidence a positive impact of this programme (question 3).

Another key moment on the first of my school visits was the noticing of school uniforms. This is detailed in the same journal entry:

The next aspect that I noticed was the uniforms of the students. There were some students in neat and tidy uniforms, but others in very different uniforms that told of the extreme poverty of the area. Girls uniforms were most noticeable in this respect because the summer dresses are the same or very similar to those that girls where at home in the UK. Some had been cut along the seams under the armpits and cut at the back to allow more room in them, but also then had material added to them at the bottom to keep the length decent, in line with cultural norms. They also had many holes, rips and tears in them. Some students wore no uniform. Some wore shoes, whilst others had none. (Journal entry, July 6th, 2017).

At the time of writing this, I was noticing the comparative differences of the students' uniforms and seem, upon reflection, overly concerned with the materialistic concern of ill-fitting or tattered uniforms. I think, this initial journal provides only evidence of my shock at the extent of poverty in schools and of their students, however, the images I took to capture the uniforms over the course of the programme, have enabled me to access so much more in terms of what these physical clothes might come to represent. This can be illustrated through the following two images.

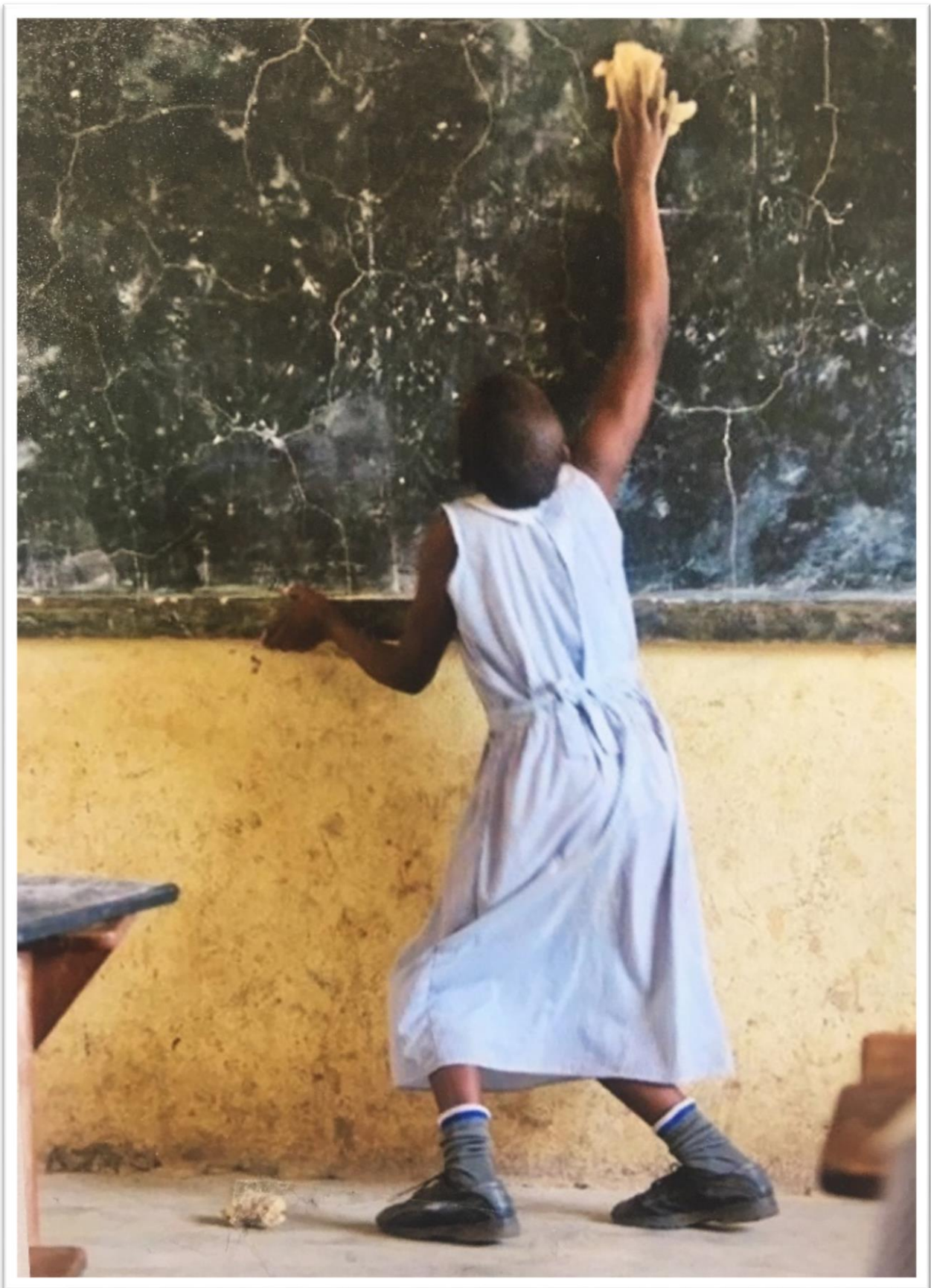


Image 1: A girl cleans the black board

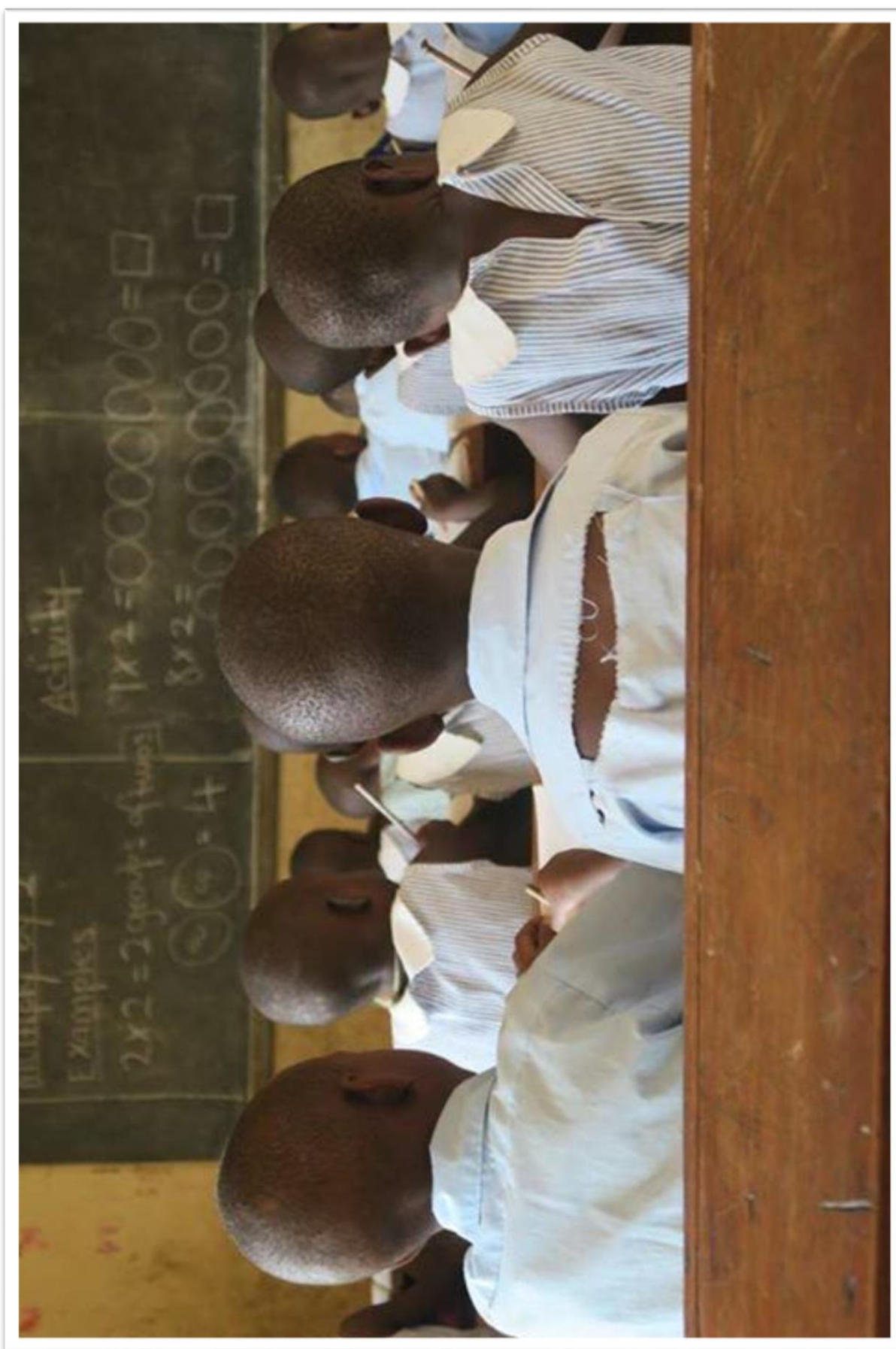


Image 2: children in class

Upon returning from the programme, I began considering these and other images against my research questions, annotating the images with rationale behind each shot. The first image gleaned a mass of comments, which are exemplified below for clarity:

Lack of funding

Schools desperate for physical resources-money not spent here, but on other priorities-who decides?

Are local values of the least worth? Conforming to Global subjects/schooling/assessments-whose interests are served by this?

Blackboard key (often only) learning tool

Misfits

Post-colonial policy borrowing.

-Knowledge hierarchy

-What constitutes 'knowledge'?

Mis-fitting pedagogy, subject knowledge of T&L-why?

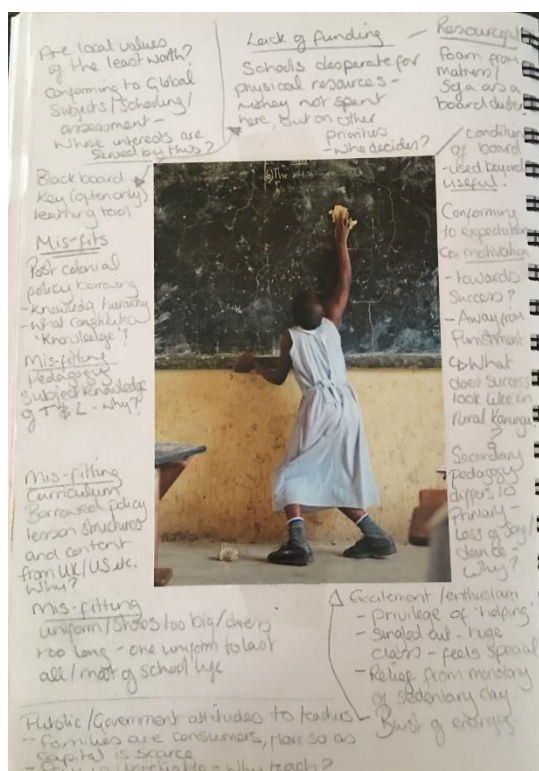
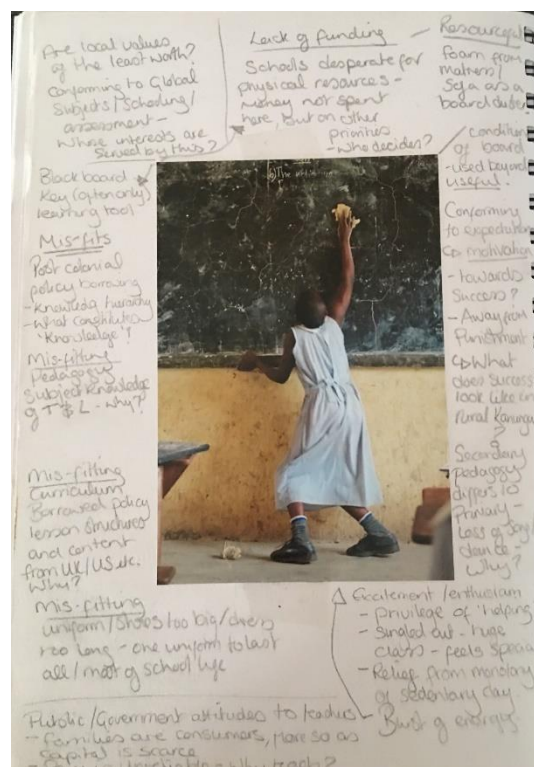
Mis-fitting curriculum, borrowed policy, lesson structures and content from UK/USA -why?

Mis-fitting uniforms/shoes too big/dress too long-one uniform to last all or most of school life

Public/government attitudes to teachers

-families are consumers, more so as capital is scarce

-pay is unreliable-why teach?



Resourcefulness

Foam from mattress/sofa as a board duster

Condition of board

-used beyond useful

Conforming to expectations

➔ Motivation

-towards success?

-away from punishment

➔ What does success look like in rural Kanungu?

Secondary pedagogy differs to primary-loss of song/dance-why?

Excitement/enthusiasm

-privilege of 'helping'

-singled out-huge class-feels special

-Relief from monotony of sedentary day

-Burst of energy

The reflections on this image go far beyond my initial materialistic concerns. In fact, they arguably go far beyond the scope of my research questions, at times, but show the depth of thinking that occurred as a result of the visit. The 'mis-fitting' uniforms become a metaphor for so much more than a visual representation of poverty. Through the reading of these images, I began to consider what else might 'mis-fit' the students, teachers and schools I had worked in; policy, pedagogy, curriculum that all seemed to replicate that which I am familiar with in the UK. Drawing on moments such as this gave me scope to access literature relevant to the study. For example, considering what others have posited on the borrowing of policy. Most familiar to me are authors such as Ball (2012b, p23), who suggests 'Policy itself is now bought and sold, it is a commodity and a profit opportunity, and there is a growing global market in policy ideas.' Is this what occurs in 'developing' countries? Does empirical data such as that which is collated from the World Bank or PISA, give rise to the belief that Western or Northern models of education and the policies that accompany them are the ideals that should be adopted and executed globally, therefore prompting a global market for education. Is there a desire to recreate education systems in order to make students across the world 'equal' and if that is the case, can it ever truly be achieved if the carbon copies that are requisite are incompatible with different cultures?

African authors such as Anwaruddin (2014) and Nguyen et.al, (2009) suggest this approach is doomed to fail; stating that the result is to 'militate against a pedagogy that aims to meld the prerequisites for effective learning within relevant parameters that typify a particular cultural niche' (Nguyen et.al, 2009, p.111). Driving standards up by supressing cultures, surely, is too greater price to pay. Anwaruddin's suggests this 'creates a discourse of incapacity, an incapacity of the developing countries to improve their (own) education systems,' (p.151) which in Rancière's terms, stultifies the very people(s) it sets out to help to develop. Emancipation then becomes impossible as a result of an assumption of inferior intelligence.

This clearly suggests a neo-colonial enterprise as per question 2 and calls into question any positive impact as per question 3 of my research questions. It would, indeed, be a very damning reading of programmes that intend to support teachers in their work in schools located in 'developing' countries, such as those pictures in Kanungu. Without the interview data I gathered, I might be tempted to take an overwhelmingly dim view of such programmes. My analysis of the second image, in fact, reinforced some of these conclusions

This image was captured whilst undertaking observations in one of the schools in Kanungu. I took the image for two reasons; it showed the normalisation of poverty through the students' uniforms (similarly to the previous image discussed, but also because it demonstrated the numbers of students and the uniformity of students on task, forward facing, concentrating on their lessons (despite the obvious presence of strange visitors behind them. It was not until my later reflections on this image that I recalled the androgynous appearance of many students. Whilst the girls wore dresses and the boys wore shirts with shorts, from this view and the dominant short cropping of hair regardless of gender, it was clear to me that students' identities are either not expressed in terms of the students' gender, or, perhaps, less emphasised and expressed at all. This is a point picked up in my annotations of the image below.

Physical space

- close / cramped rows
- Students fill all available space - no upper limit on numbers of student.

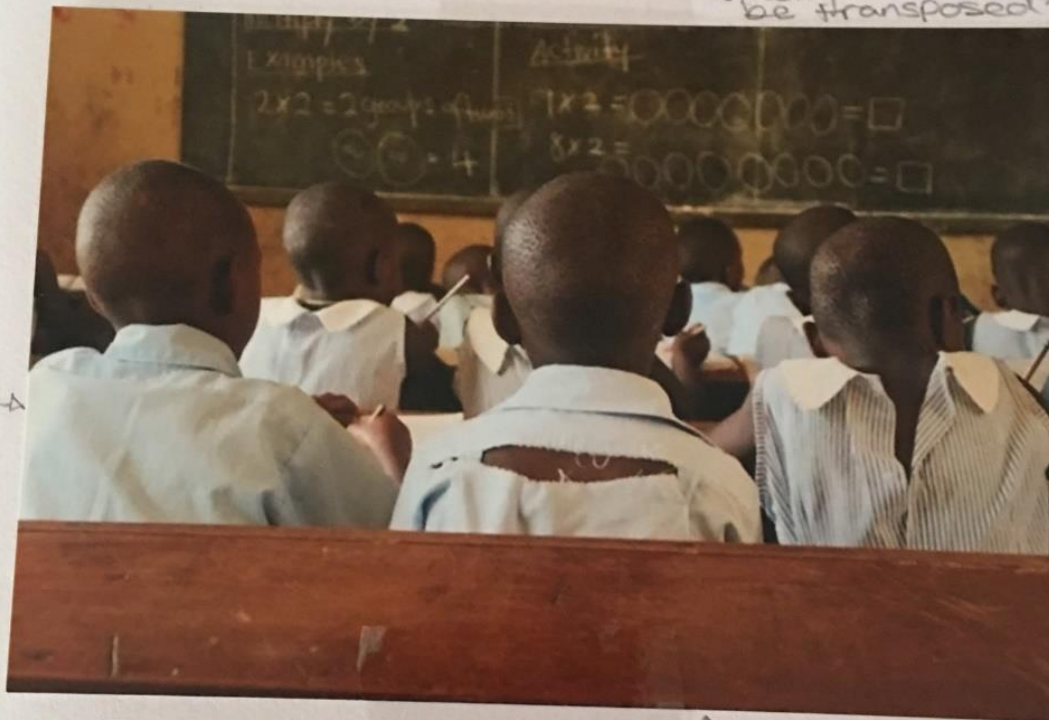
Focus

All students focused on tasks, - no disruptions, no behavioural issues. Why? Motivation? Fear?

Pedagogy

- Instructional despite large numbers of because of large numbers?
- Western pedagogy being advocated, but how. Does group work, Kinaesthetic activities, student-led learning, differentiation etc. transfer in such vast classes with no printing, no resources, no classroom support?

Nativity to assume this can be transposed?



Students in uniforms

- Don't fit - are the best that they can source / afford

Social aspect / closeness

> Students seem blind to difference of so used to it, they no longer notice. No stigma.

↑
Too small

Uniform as a physical symbol of unity.

Androgynous appearance

- girls shave heads, as do boys.
- cultural norm - different explanations. 1) Hair / Appearance is a distraction from education a drain on time. Appearance need not be a concern so young. 2) Hair will grow back thicker.

My notes discuss the image making the following points:

Poverty is immediately evident to me; my eye was drawn to the uniform. Students in country appear not to even notice this-they are not concerned by appearance as this is not unusual, blind to material difference. Uniform is not the only symbol of unity. Androgynous appearance-all students shave their heads. Culturally-beauty is a distraction from education and a drain on time. There is a belief that students need not be concerned by this at so young an age.

It is interesting that I state that poverty is immediately evident 'to me.' This is perhaps an indication that I am reflecting on the awareness that although 'to me' this is immediately relevant, it is not so in the culture in which I was then immersed. It could be suggested that this is because this level of poverty is not usual or commonplace within my experience of culture, but this also is suggestive of the 'colonial gaze' Pink (2007, p22) cautions against. There is a danger of such a gaze being used to become an 'exploitative and objectifying project to classify the colonized.' It is possible to critically question my own motives for taking this picture; it could be viewed, quite cynically as a tool to further exemplify the ways in which Ugandan teachers, students and their communities are Othered, labelling them collectively as 'poor.' This certainly would justify the 'discourse of incapacity' previously referenced (Anwaruddin, 2014, p115) and would support the Rancièrian reading of this programme as stultifying rather than emancipatory. However, once again, I did not take this picture in the sentiment of 'patronizing, well-meaning pity' discussed by Adichie. In fact, the motivation was quite the opposite; it was one of wonderment and awe that despite so many challenges, despite such limited resources there are so many successes occurring in Ugandan schools. There was the desire to evidence that actually, despite their being a plethora of challenges that dwarf any 'crisis' of funding, recruitment or retention in the UK narrative perpetuated by the media about its own challenges or the desperate and needy images perpetuated by the West in general about the state of Education in Africa in particular, there are professional teachers and diligent students absolutely dedicated to developing and benefiting from effective education.

I felt an even larger question had begun to form over the term 'effective education.' Whilst, as previously stated, some African authors have accused the imposition of a Western system of education one that 'tends to militate against a pedagogy that aims to meld the prerequisites for effective learning' (Nguyen et al., 2009, p111), there is the opposing view that globalisation or new internationalism (Ball 2007, 2012a, 2012b) demands a degree of conformity to a unifying system in order to enter and retain membership within the global community. 'Effective

education' may well be a transient term and its meaning may rest on the shifting sands of whoever currently steers and shapes the global discourse on what 'effective' might mean. However, the imposition of a dominant view on more subordinated cultures again aligns very closely with neo-colonialism.

The tensions between what could and perhaps should be identified as neo-colonialism and that which I felt was valid, valuable and productive collaboration is a theme that recurs throughout this thesis. It is something difficult to reconcile entirely, or perhaps even partially, because those running the programme, volunteering to deliver and those teachers signing up to participate do not think or view the programme and its purposes or results identically or even similarly at times, which is evident in both my journal entries and interviews with various research participants. In discussion with one of the headteachers who has been working on the programme for some time, it was evident that initially at least, some were reluctant to participate in the programme for such reasons:

At first teachers felt that these LRTT teachers are coming to see the way we are teaching, they think we don't know how to teach, they are just coming to criticise us, assuming that we do not know what we are doing. That was the first feeling teachers got and most of the didn't want to be observed, so I remember one day when they had just come to school and they came and met them in the office and the teachers walked and sat out there (OUTSIDE). No one was interested in being with them.

Such misgivings and wariness are not surprising in any professional situation whereby one person is observed and given feedback on how to improve their practice if there is either a lack of understanding of a common goal or a power imbalance. Bhabha (1994) would perhaps describe these feelings within the context of colonial hybridity as ambivalence; a mixture of perhaps seeing the positive intent, but also being guarded over the fear of criticism. However, there is also a clear power imbalance evident that suggests this project comes dangerously close to colonial education whereby the outside agent, a former colonial power, is imposing a system of education upon the formerly colonised. This raises questions of an ethical nature and could result in subsequent adoption of educational practices from the dominant culture by that which is being Othered as mimicry. This was a recurring concern throughout my participation in the programme; from the moment it was brought to my attention, throughout participation and upon reflection afterwards. There are no clear resolutions for such a concern, but there are two further considerations to be contemplated.

Firstly, Bhabha (1994) would contend that it is unrealistic to consider there to be a post-colonial identity as such. The end of colonising cultures and power structures were not formed in the declarations of independence for colonised countries. He suggests rather that there are iterations and reiterations of identity that converge at repeated points throughout our history whereby the colonised and the colonisers negotiate and re-negotiate their identities. Hybridity is a multidirectional process in which all parties are mutually transformed through reciprocal interactions. In this sense, this point of tension as highlighted above, is but a point of intersection that acts as a catalyst for reiteration of constantly evolving identities. The binary of the coloniser and the colonised, the powerful and the powerless, the knowing and assumed ignorant are not the dichotomy formerly asserted, there is rather a convergence and overlapping of these identities in which all identities can adopt each binary identity to a lesser or greater extent. In the moments detailed above, there is an obvious echo of the more polarised binary identities, but this is not to suggest that this is all that can come of such a programme or its outcomes (sub-question 3).

Furthermore, there were further examples of evidence, in all data collection methods, that suggest this more negative interpretation of interactions was not representative of all interactions. In fact, there were far more examples of positive interactions witnessed, reported and captured via various methods which will be explored. Within the same interview with the same Headteacher it was also said that the perceptions had been changed from those initial reported above.

afterward when it came to learn(ing) that after the observation was not all about criticising or showing that they (volunteer teachers) know better than what they (Kanungu teachers) knew, but they came to learn that it was just sharing of ideas and our lessons can be made better....and now no more challenges with LRTT teachers. Yes, even myself, at first, that is what I felt, so the one who observed me at first...came and sat with me and told me what I had done well and what I had not done well and how I would have one it and was asking me, what is your opinions about this and then I would tell her. Then, afterward, she told me, I'm going to organise my lesson myself and I'm going to teach it and you're also going to observe me and give me feedback. So, I also observed her and then I gave feedback and she also talked a bit about it, so then it came to be sharing rather than just observing someone and telling them about the wickedness of what they did. So, the relationship there improved a bit so those

challenges, I no longer hear them in the schools and the teachers who first discussed themselves came back and they became one and they started working together.

This would suggest that there is, as discussed, rather than a binary or dichotomy of the post-coloniser and post-colonised or neo-coloniser and neo-colonised, there are instead identities that represent more fluidity, that although shaped on all sides by the cultures of the past, they are in flux and frequently renegotiated in order to work towards or become something that could be mutually beneficial. That which is mutually beneficial could easily be termed as a community. In a community there is not the pretence that roles of unequal power are non-existent, but rather the understanding that power is transient. It belongs to those who have elevated status of some kind; through wealth, education, influence over others. However, these identities are in flux and despite this perceived power imbalance, members of the community, as Bauman suggests:

In a community we can count on each other's good will. If we stumble and fall, others will help us to stand on our feet again. No one will poke fun at us, no one will ridicule our clumsiness and rejoice in our misfortune...Our duty, purely and simply, is to help each other, and so our right, purely and simply, is to expect that the help we need will be forthcoming (Bauman, 2001, p2).

Perhaps this view might be critiqued as overly sentimental or even idealistic, Bauman himself suggesting that this idealised community is 'another name for paradise lost-but one to which we dearly hope to return' (Bauman, 2001, p.3). It could be said that there are many scenarios in which rather than helping one another individuals (as represented by people, states or continents) choose to look the other way or withhold their help for personal gain, however, there is between 'developing' and 'developed' countries a long-established trend towards fulfilling the duty as members of a global community to 'help.' This programme, and others like it, could perceivably be placed in this category of giving 'help.' However, this seemingly reinforces the tension between that which is 'help' that is both wanted and beneficial, rather than that which derives from 'well-meaning pity' which as Adichie explains, '...robs people of dignity. It makes our recognition of our equal humanity difficult. It emphasizes how we are different rather than how we are similar (Adichie, 2016, p.87).'

To assess the extent to which the community established is closer to Bauman's model or more divisive as per Adichie's model is not a simple task and exemplifies why so many different data

sources is necessary. Using the images collected, the interviews undertaken and my own journal notes is essential here in establishing the nature of the community being forged.

Using reflective journal entries offers some insights into the nature of the community, but these are not always simplistic nor clear in their implications. For example, there is a sense of a formality in some entries;

First Conference day 08/08/17

The first conference day was really interesting and exciting and, in the build-up, I experienced a range of emotions. I was nervous, apprehensive even, about how I and we as LRTT representatives would be received and I also wondered what the reaction to our sessions would be given the limited awareness of the context that I possess. The teachers arrived slowly and many expected did not arrive at all. Others who were not booked to attend, arrived anyway...Most greeted us and introduced themselves and I and other fellows had learned words of welcome in Rukiga in preparation. This was warmly received. Some though quickly and wordlessly entered the main hall without introduction...once in the building it was very much up to the fellows to initiate communication. No speech was otherwise maintained across the groups, rather the fellows spoke together and the local teachers spoke together.

When writing this piece, I reflected more so on my own concerns than the reality of the situation. I had formed concerns around my perceptions of the reaction the local teachers might have to the strange visitors who came on the assumption that they might know more than them. This concern (that I and we as a collective would be viewed as presumptuous of our own superiority in skill) is evident throughout my journals and is certainly not unfounded; it is the point of the programme to share good practice, so there is an inherent belief that visiting teachers have expertise to disseminate. At this point in my journaling, it is clear that I am concerned by how this might be received. However, this assumption of superior knowledge with respect to teaching (in the Western definition of the term at least) is not unfounded. Teachers travelling, like myself, from the West, do so as products of long histories of Westernised teaching and education, having been taught within such institutions, having been trained by such institutions and having taught as professionals within such institutions themselves. What is being adopted African schools is evidence of globalisation, whereby that which is operating successfully in one part of the world is being adopted in others. As

reference in the Literature Review, Barakoska (2014) suggests, globalization according to Albrow refers to 'all these processes by which people of the world are integrated into a single world society, global society' (Albrow, 1990:9). It is not then unrealistic to assert that those who form a product of the society in which a Western model originates would have a greater insight into that model, be it teaching or any other body of knowledge. However, surely this extends only within the bounds of theoretical knowledge. It cannot be assumed that I or anyone else from that Western model of knowledge, might be able to theorise about or do the work of a teacher in a non-western context (such as the context of these teachers from Kanungu district) to any degree, much less superiorly. This is because the limits of my knowledge cannot extend beyond my own immediate context. I understood that I come from a Western context and understand Western models of teaching, but my knowledge of non-Western contexts and subsequently non-Western teaching is limited significantly. Yet, communicating this understanding was not something I felt sufficiently comfortable or capable of doing and so I felt anxious.

What perhaps I felt was missing was an acknowledgement of where expertise resided; perhaps there needed to be an acknowledgement that Western teachers might have greater training and experience in Western methods of teaching or pedagogy and that the Ugandan teachers had greater training and experience in Ugandan teaching or pedagogy and so each had a clearly superior knowledge base in relation to their own area of training and expertise. Perhaps this acknowledgement would have enabled a discourse to adopt the tone of, 'this strategy works in the UK, do you think it could be of use here?' However, although this tone might have been implicit at times, I felt the adoption of it varied greatly according to the personality and perspective of the visiting teaching fellow. This is perhaps another illustration of Bauman's assertion that between different cultures, 'no one knows how to talk to anyone else' (Bauman, 2000, p107). This is perhaps also further evidence of 'feelings of guilt and privilege' (DeLuca and Batts Maddox, 2015, p284), that are not fully explored or articulated and so hinder reflexive practice.

However, to apply again Rancièrian reading of this situation, it could also be suggested that this creates a further tension surrounding the explication of knowledge and the transmission of such forms of superior knowledge. Rather than adopting an emancipatory model, it could be considered that both parties could be mutually stultified by their positioning as inferior. What I believed would counter this argument was the belief in the mutual capacity to learn

and the viewing of intelligence as equal and, upon reflection, this is perhaps what I hoped to identify in the conference day; were all participants viewing one another as equals?

As discussed, attempts to garner closer ties within this new community are made through the learning of greetings in the language of Rukiga, not the only language spoken locally as both Swahili and English are official languages and many other dialectal versions are common to the region, but Rukiga belongs more uniquely to the immediately local community in Kanungu. Through conversation with the local lead teachers and advisors to the organisation, I discerned that this effort made on the part of the visitors was viewed very positively and demonstrated greater respect. This also symbolises the way in which new learning is occurring for both parties; the visitors are visibly learning about the local culture, context and language in order to foster the sense of community. In Bhabha's (1994) terms, this is a simplistic example of hybridity as neither party remains unchanged.

The final part of the journal above reflects on the tendency for the two sides of the community, the fellows and the local teachers, to remain distinctly separate when it comes to informal dialogue and this could be interpreted as evidence of the lack of cohesion within the evolving community. However, this was on the very first day of the programme and, if it is compared to any social situation where two groups previously unknown to one another are asked to mix, I believe, initially at least, the tendency to keep close to those whom you know would be the same. What is perhaps interesting is how this dynamic changed across the duration of the programme. In a later parallel conference session, less than two weeks later, I made reference to 'lunchtime conversation' with the female members of our group where we discussed 'marriage and relationships' and 'giving birth.' Whilst I do not intend to discuss these conversations at length here, their intimate nature and the ease with which these are described in my journal suggests a much more relaxed environment and the strengthening of relationships as we become more familiar with one another.

Another key journal that demonstrates the community being established between the visiting fellows and local schools is that of an account of my experience attending a celebration at the school to which I and three other fellows working closely with the school were invited. Our inclusion in the ceremony is in and of itself a demonstration of our acceptance and belonging within the community we were becoming a part of:

Whilst we were excited to be invited to the ceremony, I can safely say that none of us had anticipated the level of excitement that would be displayed in response to our presence. To me, it felt wrong almost and that we had done nothing to deserve the level of appreciation or gratitude afforded to us, but on reflecting with my colleagues, we considered that there was a difference between visitors in our home schools and visitors here; there are very few Africans in the local area who have left even their district of Kanungu, much less than the country despite the relative proximity to other cities. Seeing someone who is not African, not black skinned, is unusual. Whites are novelty, especially to the children who may not have seen a muzungu before. During the ceremony, speeches were given by the priest, the head teacher and director. Members of the community, parents, students and teachers all attended. We were introduced as distinguished guests and asked to introduce ourselves. We were described as 'friends of [REDACTED] School and students.' We were told that once friends of [REDACTED], we would always be friends of [REDACTED]. The sentiment was very genuine and evoked strong emotions. I felt that I wanted to support the school.

Here I describe the almost celebrity-like status awarded to visitors like myself. This is an example of how we were welcomed into the community and considered friends. Some might question the genuine nature of this exchange; is this a realistic depiction of how relationships form between two opposing cultures? I believe it to be such, although note that I did ruminate on this issue at length at the time and have done so since:

The cynic in me could argue that this was due to the school requiring an on-going relationship in order to secure financial support, but I did not feel that this was the case. There is an interest in this, of course, but we had given nothing but time and input on teaching and learning at this point. There is a very definite focus on hospitality in Africa; sharing all that you have with your neighbour, rooted in the predominantly catholic ideology here, even though people have very little, they share it all and welcome you like family after your first meeting.

Since returning to the UK, I have maintained contact with some members of this community, knowing that they do and would benefit financial support if and when I might be able to give it, but feeling that it is not expected or demanded in order to maintain that bond. It is perhaps a distinction inherent in this extract that needs to be verbalised. I address the voice of the cynic in my own head, knowing that others, specifically for the West would levy such

criticisms because perhaps it has become part of the Western or even globalised culture to question motives and see agendas behind action. However, here, in this moment I refuted this interpretation of the actions and events, rather seeing them as symptomatic of African culture. This again points towards theories discussed by both Bhabha and Bauman. Bhabha (1994) would explain this transaction as a product of hybridity, both myself as the visitor and the school with which I am visiting is changed by the interaction as we become part of a new community. Perhaps it would even be described as 'being in the 'beyond' of culture' which Bhabha explain 'is to inhabit an intervening space.' He may even go so far as to suggest that if such spaces become more frequently visited, it is a move to 'redescribe our cultural contemporaneity; to touch the future on its hither side (Bhabha, 2013, p.108).'

Whilst Bauman (2001) would explain that perhaps what is occurring here is the creation of 'new identity stories' (2001, p99) being forged. The dichotomous identities of coloniser and colonised are no longer working to segregate the different ethnic groups within this community and so new stories must be authored in order to understand who we are and how we relate to each other. On a very personal level, this felt like a positive experience. However, this poses a further contemplation over whether the use of an individual journal entry to examine the dynamics of a community as a whole is possible. Although I, evidently, felt that positive interactions were occurring on a small, personal scale, it is not possible to emphatically state that the same could be said for the programme as a whole. For this reason, it is necessary to further explore other data collection methods.

6.5 Local Teacher Perspectives

To return to my participants, it is now critical to consider their responses when asked about the communities established and relationships fostered between local and Western teachers. I will now examine some of the relevant dialogue collected.

One interview carried out was with two teachers who had participated in the programme over a number of years (2-3 years) and who were now Lead teachers (a role designed to support the sustainability of the programme whereby teachers who demonstrate skill in applying the CPD principles are chosen to deliver further training and support local colleagues between CPD windows that occur three times per year). Both were primary school teachers who had been teaching for 4 to 5 years. Both confirmed that they had become teachers to help others and they enjoyed the job, but described the challenges they have in terms of limited resources,

high student numbers. I went on to ask the teachers about their participation in the programme and how they felt about the programme and others that they had been involved with.

Me: Does the programme meet the needs of your school?

B: Yes, it does (meet the needs), only that we go there for a short period, this is wrong, we need it to be longer. We would at least get more knowledge and skills, but for me it meets the needs. We learn how to handle the classes, for example, how to use the limited resource we have in our schools, the also, we learn how to handle the learners' behaviour for learning, then for methods.

A: We use when teaching.

B: And also bring it in our fellow teachers. Whereby we had to discuss some of the things we had learned there.

A: And also display it in the staff room and then we can teach them and they can see them there in this staff room.

B: Yes, it's right, so after the display we had to discuss for those who at the school who had not had the opportunity to go to LRTT.

Me: How does it make teachers feel?

B: At least after that training and you are in the classroom, you feel you are competent.

A: Yes, you get confidence in teaching.

Me: Are the programmes-are they always run by muzungos?

B: Yes, they are always organised by muzungo.

Me: How do you feel about that? Is that ok?

B: Yes, it's ok.

A: Yes, but maybe this year LRTT was somewhat different whereby we were participating in the teaching of some of the teachers so it became more enjoyable, for us to participate as teachers.

Me: I wonder how the teachers feel to have so many visitors all the time, whether that's ok.

B: They feel ok. It's ok.

A: It's ok.

Me: It doesn't disrupt you?

B: No. It doesn't. No.

A: No. It's ok.

Me: It would annoy me-I'd say go away, let me do my job. (laughter)

A: It's ok.

B: It's ok.

What is striking here is that the teachers both repeatedly confirm that they find the programme useful and it meets their CPD needs and, despite my numerous posings of the question, they are happy to have frequent, muzungu visitors. It seems that it was more my impression that this might have been a problem for the teachers than it appears to be in actuality. When I later asked if students and parents felt the same way, that it was ok to have so many muzungu visitors, I was told,

B: Yes. They also feel the same because when they are passing here and they see the mazu, they also start to see how our little learners can talk and communicate with the mazungu.

A: And the students... and for the school, we become famous for hosting some people from other countries, other continents, having a muzungu school, so famous. Presents the right image, it's so good.

Me: And you build relationships then? Will you keep in touch with your LRTT teachers?

B: Yes. We exchange our phone numbers and facebook and whatsapp, some people are talking.

Me: Are there things that you would want to change about LRTT to make it better?

B: At least if we would be given more time.

A: And make you should participate in abroad workshops, take us to other countries also as lead teachers

B: Yeah, we could also go there and see how other teachers

A: As you also come and see us.

This demonstrated the high regard people in the area appear to have for the programme; those schools with many visitors, become famous, aligned with good quality learning, having a ‘muzungu school’ actually ‘presents the right image.’ These responses indicate that there is not the conflict I had perhaps anticipated underlying the programme here. I was also encouraged to hear about the participants desires to travel to other countries in order to build upon their learning and to observe other teachers at work in their work places. This speaks far more to a global, dialogic model of learning and communication between the participants, rather than a hierarchical one-directional flow of professional development that passes from the knowing to the ignorant, as was perhaps a concern in the literature review. As stated by Foucault (1972, p.227) ‘Every educational system is a political means of maintaining or of modifying the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it.’ It would be a dissatisfying model indeed if all that was achieved was the reinforcement of a knowledge and therefore power hierarchy. However, without the further interactions referenced above, via social media and, later through international travel for all participants, it might well be suggested that this model would be more complicit with Rancière’s descriptions of stultification through explication rather than emancipatory learning. The object of the programme as I understand it is to reach a point whereby teachers in the Ugandan schools no longer require external input, but this point has not yet been reached. Although the programme at this point had been running for five years, it was still in the early stages; not all teachers in the district had yet been invited or able to accept an invitation to take part and so it would be unfair to be excessively critical that these steps had not yet been achieved.

Additional interviews that were carried out with various participants reinforce the positive impact of the programme. Teacher C at another school stated:

The LRTT programme has taught us a very many good things on how to improve the students' knowledge. Some of this... we don't know them because we have known how to improve the students' knowledge, like the teaching techniques. Most of the times for us here in Uganda we used to become very harsh and rude to the students, but you have warned us that when you become very harsh and rude to the students, they can drop out of the school...they normally use what you call corporal punishments, but now when a student, did something wrong, we have other punishments to give the students.

Whilst another Lead teacher and Director of a school (D) explained:

It has helped me a lot, personally, I didn't go through teacher training colleges, I was not a teacher by profession, though I had my two teaching subjects.... through LRTT I think I have learnt a lot in the area of teaching. I have learnt the many techniques one can use in the classroom when one is teaching, I have learned to make my lesson plans. It has helped me a lot... I use them (the techniques) Learners they can understand better... here, not only me, but I have observed it with most of the teachers in Uganda. A teacher stands in front of the students then talks, after talking tells them pick your pens and begin writing notes then he dictates as they write, after writing notes then he goes away. If he is to give an exercise, just gives an exercise, then someone brings the books to the office and he must take them back, but in this training they have taught us many ways to engage the learners, through groupwork techniques and through these ones they have proved to be methods that make learners remember what they have been taught-not like just telling them and if they are involved in the lessons themselves, they can even understand better. And there are also techniques of assessment which are less time consuming in the classroom because most of the teachers fear to give many number to them in the classroom because they would fear the whole class bringing books for marking and there are classes which are having around 80 students, so teachers fear that, but they are techniques which a teacher can use in a class and by the time he leaves class he has already assessed all learners and he doesn't have any extra book marking they use peer assessment which can take a very short time and everybody is assessed.

Again, these participants not only agree in their assessment of the programme working for them, but also in its ability to improve key aspects of learning such as engagement, assessment and behaviour for learning. I earlier asked a question regarding the nature of a programme that asks Ugandan teachers to adopt practices that are identified as belonging inherently to the West, but perhaps it is arrogance to view these practices as being 'Western.' Perhaps they are rather universal principles for learning that should not be attributed to a singular culture, that hold true irrespective of location. This would then enable the sharing of such principles to be understood as being more than Bhabha's mimicry, used to 'describe the theatrical imitation of socio-cultural customs by the colonised.' (Fay and Haydon, 2017. p75). Bhabha suggests that 'colonial mimicry is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite' (Bhabha, 1994, p.122). Fundamental to locating the adoption of teaching practices by one group of pedagogues from another as mimicry is the debate of whether the practices themselves belong to those identified as colonisers. However, if these practices belong to the practice of teaching, rather than the cultured knowledge base of a neo-colonial conduit, they are not mimicry, but rather the sharing of a 'community of practice' as per Lave and Wenger's (1991) definition.

There is a danger in using closed questions such as "Does the programme meet the needs of your school?" or "do you believe the programme is beneficial?" However, they were asked for multiple reasons; firstly, they were part of the protocol of the organisation's own questionnaires and impact study, so could not be avoided. Secondly, at the time, I felt they should still be asked as I did not wish to appear to hide an agenda; to a not insignificant extent, this is the sort of question participants expect when being asked to discuss their participation in a programme or course. Additionally, had any participants stated outright that they felt the programme to be unhelpful or useless, this would have very quickly delivered an opportunity for further discussion around why this might be the case. Evidently, this did not happen. With hindsight, it is possible now to consider other ways in this same information could be elicited through less direct questioning; simply through questions such as, 'what has been most challenging in participating in the programme,' or 'can you describe any benefits the programme might have had?'

Outwardly then, it appeared that the participants enjoyed and favoured the programme. However, it must also be considered that it may not have been possible for their responses to have been otherwise. Recognising the need to assimilate to a globally modern way of working means accepting the methods through which this assimilation can be achieved. This surface

level agreement that the programme is beneficial to participants is not one I intend to question. To question the legitimacy of the participants' views is to enter into a further narrative of disempowerment and subjection in the sense that it would assume that participants were either unable to speak their minds openly because of the extreme power imbalance at play between myself and the participants or that they were unable to assess the programme independently because of deficient ability to evaluate it. I do not believe this to be the case in either case. Whilst some might suggest that there is most certainly the possibility for the former, this was not my experience. In sessions delivered on the topics that participants did not find pertinent, like the SEND (Special Educational Needs and Disabilities) sessions or groupwork sessions, participants were quick to tell us that they did not believe they had SEND students in their classrooms or that groupwork could not work for their classes, that they did not have available many of the resources we might take for granted, like paper and pens for communal use. I cannot reconcile an image of the participants as incapacitated, powerless and placating with my own experiences to the contrary.

However, the interrogation of the programme did not stop here for me and there were other discoveries made through the more open questions of the interviews that provided greater insight to the challenges and complexities of working in this context. One recurring theme here was the value of education to the participants and their students which has to be understood as significantly different to that of a (broadly speaking) Western teacher. My own understanding of education resonates with that of transformative, emancipatory learning; a process that moves a student from a position of limited power or freedom to that of increased power or freedom, but in my classroom, this generally applies to students who come from disadvantaged backgrounds, by which I connote lower income families, potentially with lower aspirations and subsequently lower social mobility. However, the scope of transformative and emancipatory learning in the students my participants teach is far beyond what I describe here. The stakes are so much higher. This is not to belittle the experience of my own students in any way, but rather to point to the complexities that cannot be understood otherwise. In Interview 3, a participant explains:

C: ...Education is very important, when you are educated you are a most powerful person, a most powerful woman in future or a man in future, so you need to be educated. Very many girls, they can just be... they can give them very small things to entice them, but we tell them please do not allow those gifts, they are very bad. In future, when you are educated, you can be having your own money to buy such...Here we have the sugar

daddies and sugar mummies...they are within the villages, the villages around us. The sugar daddies are the ones who are very old and they like these young girls and even the sugar mummies are the old women who like the young boys and they just give them money and some gifts, so that they can do what? They can destroy their lives. Even not for marriage cause you see some of these people they can be have some disease and they can be jealousy that this kid should also get it. And you know these kids that they are still young...every person you see, you just see that person as a patient, that is when you will live longer...Even when you are to get married, first you have to go for testing for HIV.

Me: Everybody gets testing before marriage?

C: Some already have that disease, the ones that we told and they refused to hear.

Education for these teachers and their students is not only about income and aspiration, but it is literally about life and death. The power that comes with education is not that to apply for college places or high earning jobs in the same way in which I understand it in the 'Western' sense; the prospect for many students to obtain education beyond primary level is simply not feasible and so fewer still have the option to aspire to college or university level, but education is about ensuring students have the power to earn enough money to survive and the knowledge to understand the risks of HIV and AIDs. The gravitas of the situation is not necessarily something easily prepared for by visitors like myself. Emancipation for my students is social mobility, for these students, it is the ability to survive.

As an outsider, it is also hard to understand challenges such as the role of parents in education. I have often taught students who have parents who are disengaged in their child's education, but this is, in many ways, circumnavigated by the state provision of education and legal emphasis on education as a right of all children. This is not the case for many students in Uganda, despite compulsory primary education for all.

C: Other challenges are from the parents, the side of the parents, because they just refuse to pay the school fees of the students... even my husband too they also refuse to give him the fees to complete the education, he was supposed to the university to study like a bachelors and he was having good marks to go to the university, but the parents decided no.

There is little autonomy of the student expressed here and so the potential for agency, for the student to choose to pursue emancipatory learning is not always an option. I asked how and why this might be the case:

C: One day there was what you call a conflict within the home between the mother and the man, they just give that punishment to the student, to their son and to their daughter.

Me: So, if the husband and wife argue, the child is punished?

C: Yeah...When they just separate or they have the conflicts, the children are the one to suffer most.

How can a visitor hope to understand such difficulties? The barrier to education and progress are not simply a result of materialistic poverty, but there are cultural and social issues that are to be reflected upon here as well. What I questioned here was whether a fundamental lack of comprehension of these issues points to a failing in the programme. Whilst the programme seeks to facilitate the sharing of positive practices in teaching and learning, can these ever be truly effective when so little is understood of the culture in which these practices are to be embedded? Conversely, I considered whether this would be a fair criticism. The programme does not set out to unpick or resolve barriers to education that might occur outside of the physical classroom. Perhaps this is rightly so; to enter further into a discourse about such barriers could lead to a position whereby social issues are also being addressed and communities and their ways of being become a part of the programme's focus. This would do little to negate discourses of incapacity. Rather, it assumes that visiting teachers assume not only to hold superior knowledge in respect to pedagogy, but also in regard to all manner of social interactions; parent child relationships, marriages, conflict resolution.

It is difficult to divorce one's own sense of what is 'right' from what is 'normative.' Because it is not normal to me to experience education being used as a bargaining chip in parental conflict, there is a temptation to make the judgement that this is not right. However, there is also a question of how culturally embedded this belief is. If it is not normative as a product of the culture to which I belong, but it is normative elsewhere in the world, can the same moral judgment be applied and if it is, this judgement feels perilously close to colonial thought; the white Westerner judging what is best for the incapacitated African. This tension cannot easily be ignored or avoided and perhaps should be acknowledged in order to be navigated. Whilst

it cannot be resolved, a sense of knowing how my interpretations of experience are formed as a product of culture enabled me to see the way I brought my self into the tensions of the experience.

This was not the only instance when such tensions were evident. When discussing the challenges schools faced in Uganda, those the programme helped and those it could not, one area that emerged was that of the physical resources. I was told repeatedly that schools do not have enough physical and monetary resources for things like books, constructing classrooms, paying salaries, equipment, building dormitories and many other essentials:

Most schools lack teaching materials, yes, especially those which are private schools, like they don't have enough text books... are not well equipped, so the teaching materials are not so adequate...they don't have enough staff members and the few that they have are always overloaded....some do not have enough pace for running, they don't have enough grass...

This lack of physical materials could perhaps be interpreted as a list of alternative priorities for support or aid and on some occasions, I did question whether the programme would be better providing these rather than pedagogical expertise. However, what became evident as this particular interview progressed was that visiting teachers also find it difficult to comprehend the other barriers to building and sustaining educational organisations.

M: This school is a bit small and a young school, so paying teachers also, getting salary for teachers, is always a problem to me... the teachers are on my neck saying, "we need our salary, we have got our families to care for, so can we have our money?" Of course, sometimes I feel like, defeated, shaking in my office and there is nothing, I have to tell them that I have nothing to give them, I look at all the ways out and question what should I do?...WE have to feed the students and the teachers cannot be paid.

Me: What do the teachers do if they are not paid?

M: The teachers eat the meals that they get from here. They wait for their wages, but sometimes we will fail to raise so most of us, those who are here we will sacrifice... we want to work and we see if the school goes up and we get more students, maybe we can have something then...We are trying.

These challenges seem to outweigh the challenges of developing pedagogy; be that defined as Western, Global or otherwise. The complex nature of running a school where state funding does not exist and where teachers may be working without pay caused me to question the validity of the programme. If support is to come from the West, might it be better for that support to take the form of financial, monetary support rather than knowledge? It could also be suggested that there is little benefit to equipping teachers with professional development opportunities when the schools in which they work may not be able to stay open. The counterbalance for this argument could perhaps be that the task of financing all schools in even a district, much less a country, is not within the scope of a volunteer-led organisation and so perhaps there is little to be gained in ruminating this point. However, the potential futility of a programme that could fail within weeks because of a lack of school funding was not easily shaken. Penn (2005) theorises this and explores the legacy of colonialism in defining the nature of aid provided by the North to and for the South:

We share a global responsibility for the past, as well as the continuance of the planet and for the well-being of the people on it. The problem is not for the North to articulate an ethics of care, how 'we' might make 'their' lives better. Instead the challenge is how to articulate a joint enterprise of change and sustainability. Penn (2005), p66.

The question here is the extent to which this enterprise is a 'joint enterprise.' It was unclear from my questions whether the teachers and schools in the Kanungu district might believe that financial support could be more beneficial than the programme of professional development and this was not a question I asked. The programme could not be swapped in this way and a question that could be perceived as suggesting otherwise seemed unethical. However, it is clear from the interviews that financial struggles do preoccupy our conversations. When we discussed the other challenges facing the school, including the culture of bribery and extortion at a government level when attempting to build and develop schools.

M: You cannot put up anything without the plans. For like this building they can charge like 600,000. Then to be approved by the town council, you pay 1000 shillings per square meter. It is already approved and every signature is 50,000 for someone to approve and put their signature... it is not a legal (cost), it is illegal, but if you do not pay it, it remains in their office as work undone. If you don't give it, the people are

dodging I have no time and when you go there, they tell you like to the office I went to I did she say they are not around, they are not at work cannot the three at any hour. He tells you I am very busy, when you call him, I am very in the field, I am in the field...but when you tell him you come and we talk, he comes. Talking to mean, you are giving him something...then come immediately... You are surprised? That's the way it is. The government needs tax. Yes, that's how he's collecting it.

C: A bribe is eaten by the owner and it is not receipted, they do not give a receipt...It is a personal money.

According to Economist Intelligence Unit (2012), Uganda is the “worst place in East Africa for bribery.” This was interpreted by myself as unjust and corrupt because from my Westernised perspective, education is a right and, in the UK, it is paid for by the state. The very notion of having to bribe the state to be able to build a school in an area where no other viable education site exists in order to provide secondary education where otherwise none would be possible, seemed callous, immoral and iniquitous. However, this is a moment whereby I am applying Western cultural practices to a non-western culture. By no means does this excuse this culture; “this type of corruption is a significant impediment; it hinders the efficacy of public policy, deters investment and is a binding constraint on economic growth and poverty reduction.” Economist Intelligence Unit (2012). However, it is a part of the culture within which I was working and so condemnation of the practice does little to combat it. This incident simply serves to further highlight the tensions experienced as a teacher delivering CPD in a non-western context.

In my journals I reflected that “Western visitors preaching pedagogy without fully understanding or appreciating the intricacies of the context was not something I could easily reconcile with” throughout or even at the conclusion of the time I spent in Uganda. These are insights I obtained as a result of being in the country and talking with the teachers, not only as a volunteer, but as a research practitioner. I questioned how many insights of this nature are gleaned routinely by others. If they are not, the limitations of the programme are therefore further compounded by a lack of cultural understanding. Decolonisation may be achieved in terms of political domination, but in hierarchies of cultural practices that occur in the minds of volunteers, I remain unconvinced.

Something I had not considered was the perception of and attitudes towards teachers in Uganda. In my own culture, I am familiar with the mantras of overworked and underpaid teachers who continue in the profession for the love of the job and would consider myself a part of this category. However, perhaps somewhat naively, I had assumed that this would not be the case in Uganda where education has become a national and international priority and a gateway to a better life, to ending poverty.

However, another clear tension for me was the ways in which teachers are perceived within the community. In many conversations, the perception I had held of teachers being well respected and valued members of the community was debunked. Firstly, in a journal entry, I reflected on a story told and reinforced by multiple teachers at a conference weekend:

In one session, we were discussing the ways students finding work too hard can become disengaged. We talked about what impact this would have on behaviour, progress and attainment. One concern voiced was that the student would become 'biased' and 'dislike' the teacher-this came up frequently. We discovered that this was a very real problem for the Ugandan teachers, but not because of the reasons that I would usually anticipate (i.e. good rapport, enjoying lessons, good relationships etc.). The teachers said that if students do not like the teacher, they can 'riot' or 'protest' and then their parents can support them. They may destroy their classroom, beat or even kill the teacher. I asked if this had actually happened. They agreed it has, though no specifics were given. This was very shocking to me. There is a very real and immediate danger if teachers are not performing here. The work we are doing is not only important in furthering student education, but also teacher education in order to prevent such occurrences. A very sobering realisation.

This is another occasion whereby I am able to locate myself within a very Westernised model of education; my language revolves around the jargon of economies of performance (Stronach, 2002) of the Westernised system; behaviour, progress, attainment, rapport, enjoying lessons. I did not consider that there might be something larger at stake ahead of this conversation. I think I chose to interpret this revelation as evidence in support of the programme because, at the time, I was still grappling with justifying our presence and intervention and I could be tempted to critique this interpretation as being motivated by my own ego; I acknowledge it is difficult to accept an interpretation that nullifies your own experiences. However, I do not believe this to be the case. We were told repeatedly from both

the organisation and the local teachers participating that the training was considered important and prestigious in the local area. This incident reveals how important that prestige may actually be; participation may afford a local teacher a little more respect in the local community and, subsequently prevent this sort of attack.

The construction of education as a product of a neoliberalist free market in the West is not a new concept with many theorists exploring the impact of a consumerist approach to education (Ball (2013), Davies & Bansel (2007), Angus (2017)). However, I would argue that nowhere is this more so the case than in a country where parents are paying for education that they cannot afford and some may not even want. In this sense, Ugandan teachers are more directly accountable to their consumers and the stakes could not be higher.

This tension was further emphasised in the interviews with the headteacher and director:

M: When you are a teacher in Uganda, then you are underlooked, people underlook you because they look at you as being someone who is very poor because the most less paid people in Uganda is being a teacher...he's not having the money always, he's just working on top of sacrificing... so people don't respect teachers here in Uganda, most of them. And when I was at the university studying...most of the students would look at me and say, "you're studying to be a teacher, eh? You have wasted your money being a teacher..."

C: In Uganda to command respect you must be having money. Those with money are respected and teachers are not people with money, but there some who are in big schools who earn big money and who have invested and so those are respected.

Is it possible that this reveals a further dimension to the complexities of the education within the Ugandan culture? Whilst education has become a huge national and international priority, is it seen as such in the local community? If it is, why are teachers not respected? Teaching remains, anecdotally at least, a job carried out by poor workers and a sacrifice made by the teachers themselves who may have chosen other more lucrative employment rather than a profession where pay is both low and unguaranteed from one month to the next; we were told it is often the case that teachers go without pay if the school cannot afford to pay them. Yet this sacrifice is not recognised or rewarded in the local communities.

This tension emphasised to me that although Western teachers delivering CPD might be positively received in terms of raising the profile of the role, it may also be the case that the question of necessity may be raised if the job is subject to such low regard. Might some local residents also resent the presence of Westerners and might this exacerbate the issues of low respect for our participants. Unfortunately, an answer to this question falls outside the parameters of the data I collected.

One final tension that emerges through the interviews was that of the needs not being met by the programme. Primarily, this seemed to be a criticism of the scope and reach of the programme:

C: ...whenever it comes to inviting teachers to the conferences, they are not inviting all teachers. At first, they were inviting all teachers. Today they are no longer inviting everybody and the schools always have new teachers coming in who have never attended and we need this training, so I think there they are not capturing all of the teachers. This time they have invited some schools and left out others. I think that they are complaining that they are not there and they have noted it down and say that they will address it in the next round.

Names specific schools that previously took part and have not been invited again.

Some teachers are left out, yet they are willing and have got time to pick something up from the conferences.

Discusses other districts being left out.

If they want to have a serious impact on the whole then they must always look at all schools district. If it is impossible to gather them all at Great Lakes (university) then at least they can have other centres, maybe if they are looking at a training programme for [another place] then they can organise it down there and the members this side can organise it this side here. I think that this would help very much.

These comments suggest several things; firstly, that the demand for the training is higher than the capacity available for delivery. When I spoke to the leads on the programme, they explained that they invited as many districts as possible, but that with only a set number of fellows, it was not feasible to invite every school in every district, yet. The communication between the director and programme organisers is revealed as being open; he has already

addressed these concerns to them and they are looking to include specifically the districts he has mentioned in the next round of training, but this also suggests that there remains a dependency model of training and dissemination of learning in place at this time. There is clearly a reliance on the programme to deliver training and not peer learning to occur independently within the local schools without the input of LRTT. This is very clearly a part of the programme that is not yet in place. The director is himself a Lead Teacher, yet there is no consideration of him independently delivering the training to other local schools at this stage. Whilst this is certainly within the forthcoming agenda for the organisation, it is not evident as yet. The Director's final suggestion is to open more centres across the district where further conferences can be held by the organisers, not by lead teachers. It could be suggested then that this is further evidence of stultification rather than emancipation as Anwaruddin (2014) might suggest. It points to a perpetuation of the belief in diminished capacity on the local teachers' part, they are not perceived as capable of delivering the training themselves, but rather must rely on the fellows volunteering from The West to do so. However, it is interesting to consider whether any such CPD or training model could start from a point other than this. The delivery of any training or learning in a professional context often starts with a leader or facilitator disseminating knowledge, but this is not the way the organisation foresees this programme developing in future years. It foresees the building of a local Ugandan and indeed global network whereby teachers will collaborate to share best practice. At this point in the programme's delivery, it does appear that the transfer of knowledge moves in a one-way flow from those in The West to those who are not and this undeniably awards a position of power and privilege to those Westerners, but this is not the way the programme is designed to remain. Rather than a programme of instruction, there is an aim to move towards more dialogic collaboration. Whether this aim will be realised is not possible to tell, but it does make the condemnation of the programme as stultifying overly simplified.

6.6 Working Relationships

It is here that some of the images taken are of particular use, predominantly to interrogate my own reading of them and how they were interpreted after returning from Uganda. For this purpose, I include three images that demonstrate the relationships that I both witnessed and was a part of.

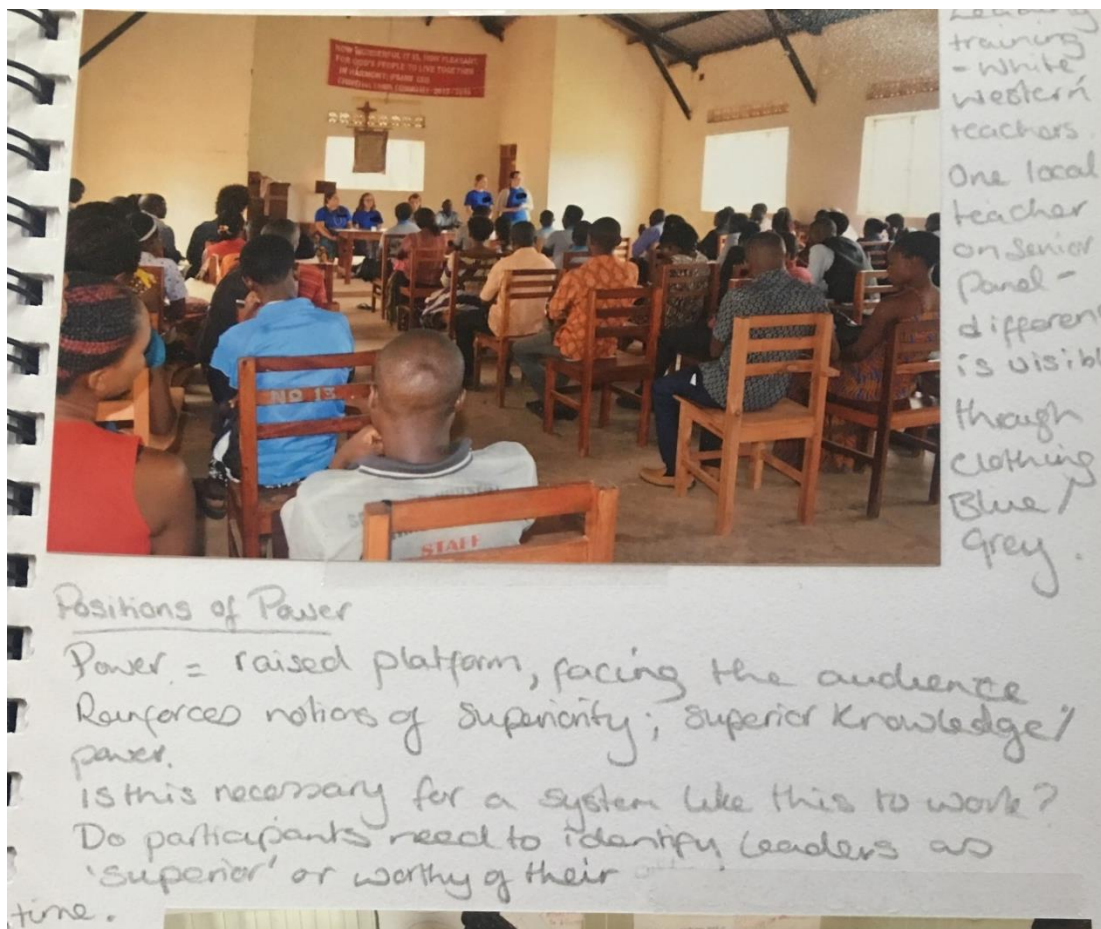
The first image was taken from the back of a large assembly hall within the university. This is the only space on the campus with the capacity to hold so many people and it is the same building in which other ceremonial activities take place such as collective worship and graduation ceremonies.

All participants were gathered here to open the programme. The level of formality was a surprise to me and I had not expected such levels of gravitas to be afforded to the programme. This is, perhaps, as a result of my own ignorance of the culture. Over the duration of the programme, I came to appreciate that ceremonies such as this are a key part of the culture in which I was working; they bestow importance and prestige on events, much as they do in the West, but with little opportunity for formal training and recognised qualifications, participating in a CPD course such as the programme that we were delivering, is given what I felt was an elevated status. If you were to ask the majority of UK based teachers whether they felt that a CPD programme is or need be celebrated in this way, I would anticipate their response to be a denial; we would save this sort of ceremony for larger or more significant achievements; graduation from school, college or university. However, if attending school beyond primary level is rare, then logically, there are significantly fewer opportunities for such events. This could then perhaps be understood as an example of cultural differences that simply exist as a product of the lack of opportunities for education and educational success in a country where there are high levels of poverty and, comparatively, lower percentages of formally educated members of the population as a whole. According to UNESCO data collated by The World Bank, the adjusted net enrolment for both sexes at lower secondary level was measured last in Uganda in 2009 and was cited as 19.4%, whilst the equivalent data set for the UK is cited as 97.6% (more recent data is not available). It could be argued that more prestige perceivably attached to the programme could simply be demonstrative of there being fewer opportunities for celebration of academic or professional achievement.



Image 3: The Conference Ceremony

However, the ceremony also gave cause for some concern within my notes as can be seen below:



To summarise, I had noticed in the organisation of the room and the staging of the ceremony; the organisation of the congregation potentially reflected the positions of power of the participants and the groups and the roles that they represent. The raised platform at the front of the room where the programme leaders sit and face the teachers delineates a space of power and authority over the attending teachers. I notice the visible difference between the programme leaders and others/Others; the visiting fellows all wear blue uniform like t-shirts carrying the logo of the enterprise and the lead teachers (such as the man at the rear of the hall and the foreground of the image) here grey logoed t-shirts with 'staff' printed on them, whilst the attendees are dressed in their own clothes.

There are multiple possible interpretations of these difference; as my notes suggest, it could be viable to argue that the visible differences are there to reinforce power structures. Bhabha (2004, p209) might suggest that these attributes are symptomatic of an ongoing 'performance'

of selfhood and dichotomised identities of the powerful and the powerless, the knowing and the Other, reinforcing the boundaries between the two. Conversely, I also question within my notes whether there is in fact a need to identify the programme leaders as 'superior' in order for them and the body of knowledge that they are there to represent to be considered worthy of time and attention. I think that what I was grappling with here, as in so many other places, was the identification of a Western model of education and the pedagogy that accompanied it as superior to that which is alternatively available.

However, it occurred to me that perhaps this is the wrong struggle to have. In devising and entering into this programme and others like it, this assertion has already been made. The dichotomy of West and Other, North and South has been either accepted or ignored and replaced by the drive towards Globalisation. The aim is to assimilate the systems of education across the globe so that we are all striving for and attaining the same, or at least very, similar levels of the same epistemologically situated education. In such a scenario, the ideas of North and South, West and Other are replaced by Global and Otherwise. Perhaps the denial of this is simply evidence of the discomfort I felt as a part of a system that has already superseded my concerns over the neo-colonial implications of such a practice. However, the acceptance of this programme and the drive towards modernity in formally colonised countries is perhaps evidence of the need to assimilate to survive. A power imbalance cannot be reasoned away because it does exist; there are those who have been established in and practising of the now global practices and pedagogies of the formerly Western, now Globally modern world and there are those who have not. Those who have been practising longer will, undoubtedly have a greater knowledge and experience of such systems by virtue of the duration of their engagement. If this were the hall for a training course between two Western groups, one identified as experts in any given field and one identified as novices, would there be the same level of concern of the ways in which knowledge bestows power? I doubt it. However, it is then critical to return to Rancièrian thinking and interrogate; is this programme explicating, stultifying and perpetuating dependency or is it emancipatory? Is ensuring equal access to education and a voice in the discourse now the only way to work our way back to some sort of equality? Is it purely a neo-colonial act (sub-question 2)? In corroboration with this interpretation are perhaps my own notes from the ceremony in the following extract:

The opening speech from a senior university representative focused greatly on the exchange of ideas between teachers from all countries. He explained that 'teaching is not preaching' and talked about finding the right tools to teach. He gave an analogy of

asking, 'Which is the best tool with which to eat your food?' and gave the options of a fork, knife, spoon and serviette. He took answers and then explained, 'would a serviette help if you were eating soup? A spoon if you were eating a joint of meat?' his point was that like eating, you need to use the appropriate tools for the job, for your students...

At the time I liked this analogy as from my own teaching experience I could relate that there are some teaching strategies for one group of students that can be hugely successful, but for another set of students, they would prove useless. However, if the analogy is taken further, perhaps it explains not only how to adopt the tools for groups of students in individual teachers' classrooms, but also for whole systems of educational systems, pedagogies and practices in order to access the globalised ideal of what constitutes effective education. Within the same entry, I also noted:

...Later, at lunch, I felt this to have been a strange analogy as all participants actually ate their lunch with their hands. A strange comparison then, maybe?

Although, perhaps not so strange as I had thought at the time because this also operates as an extension of the same analogy. Of all the possible ways to eat food, only four popular, Western utensils ones were given a presence in the analogy; knife, fork, spoon, serviette, these are the four most globally recognised and accepted practices, but other methods such as eating with your hands, using chopsticks, skewers or tongs might actually be more usual or prevalent in different cultures. Irrespective of the nuances of various cultures, those deemed globally acceptable are the ones that make it into the analogy, those are the ones we must all draw on to enter into the global discourse surrounding the analogy. Perhaps this is then the same as what I have already reflected upon above. Although there may well be different, other ways of doing or being, assimilating into the global order is what is required to have a voice and an opinion over the best methods or instruments to used, be they relating to dining, education or any other cultural practice.

A further challenge during the conference days was the way in which the content of the workshop sessions had been chosen and how it was received by the participants. After one session, I noted in my journal that it had been "a really difficult session" after a workshop focusing on the topic of inclusive learning for students with special educational needs. I noted that "teachers seemed to believe that SEN did not exist here" and that "SEN was equated

purely to physical disabilities. We were told that in North Uganda only there is SEN because of the war and land mine injuries etc.” This session led me to question a number of things; at first, I was confused and question whether it was possible that there were no visual needs, no motor skill issues, no hearing impairments in Uganda, did these disabilities actually not occur in Uganda? However, then it occurred to me that if there is no awareness or acceptance of such disabilities, it was probably more likely that students with disabilities probably did exist, but that one of two things happened; either they did not attend school and so their teachers did not have to consider how to make lessons inclusive for them or, because there was no appreciation of such needs, student with needs likely found alternative ways to cope in class; the onus was likely on the child to adapt rather than the teacher.

This incident though led me to further question the content of the programme. The workshop content had clearly been designed by the organisation we were volunteering with and had chosen to focus on key themes relevant to Western pedagogy. Whilst I could not bring myself to argue that SEN did not belong on the programme because that would go against the grain of my own Westernised pedagogical understanding, it did lead me to question how the programme has been composed. Just like the image of the hall, with the programme leaders at the front, heading up the hierarchy, the knowledge being shared was being dictated by the Western visitors. Surely, not asking for the perspectives of local teacher, local participants and not giving autonomy in the choice of what should be covered in the programme was another unconscious reinforcement of neo-colonial regime. I could not comprehend why this opportunity; to consult local counterparts had not been taken and questioned it when discussing the programme with leaders that evening and in the interviews I later undertook. One response can be found in interview three:

I think that the reason why they don't explicitly ask teachers is because... they're really trying to build capacity and reach out to additional countries and build different relationships and countries are coming to them and asking them for help and so I think that it's just growing too rapidly to really refine the site-specific logistics.

This could be a legitimate reason in the sense that this programme is one of several being delivered across many parts of the world (10 different countries including Uganda, India, Guyana, Belize, Ghana and Tanzania; all of which are former colonies) and these programmes have been rolled out very quickly (over just 5 years at the time of participation). However, I could not help but question whether this was really good enough if the aim was to make this

programme belong to a process of decolonisation rather than a perpetuation of neo-colonialism.

I now return to further images captured and, by way of specific contrast, the image overleaf of myself working with the local teachers in my group. As a point of clarity, these images were not ones taken by myself, but rather images captured by other visiting teachers and then shared with me later. It is interesting to notice that other teachers felt the need to capture these moments; that they represented significance to them and that they also wished to share them with me. This act itself could be interpreted in a number of ways, with both positive and negative connotations alike; were the images taken to capture a memory of an experience in a voyeuristic, tourist-like sense? Were they documenting the participation of the professional development programme undertaken? Were they a product of a very Westernised culture that enjoys taking far too many photographs? I deliberately avoid speculation on the possible motivations for capturing the images because this was not something I asked those who took the photographs at the time to explain. At the time, I accepted the images as simply a memento of the experience and asked if I could use them in my research, but did not delve any further into the motivations for their compositions, so feel it would be unjust to speculate now.



Image 4: Working Relationships
Personal photograph taken by other visiting teacher delivering the session and shared with me after the workshop took place.

This session was immediately after the one described and captured in the opening ceremony above and in the accompanying notes, I demonstrate consciousness of my role and position both as part of power and knowledge hierarchy and in the respect of a physical presence by noting that I sit in an attempt at 'Deliberate subversion of power roles, consciously choosing to sit 'below.' Great discourse through equality.' I remember thinking that I simply did not want to stand, hovering over these teachers like I might in a school, as a teacher hovers above their students in a classroom, that I wanted our conversation to be between equals and not reminiscent of a power exchange between an authority and the subjugated. There was no further premeditation in this action other than making the conversation less formal and more equal, but I also recall the shock of the teachers when I took a seat on the floor. They were concerned that I would get dirty or be uncomfortable and two offered to bring me a chair. I refer to other similar instances in my journal when people from the local area, teachers, staff at the lodge and drivers demonstrate concern over the comfort required for Westerners and describe, 'the attitude from the teachers as schools who felt that our accommodations would not be good enough for UK or US people, but were good enough for Africans.' This is, I believe, an attitude borne of the colonial period and a legacy of that time that is perpetuated by visitors travelling to the country as a holiday destination and expecting the same levels of comfort and extravagance in their hotels in Africa as is comparable with what they are accustomed to at home (as previously discussed in the journal entry pertaining to concerns raised by the lodge staff). It is difficult to overcome beliefs like this as they reside in so many narratives and impressions created through social interactions over a such a sustained period and, in some respects at least, are not entirely inaccurate. By this, I mean to suggest that these impressions have been created through experiences and interactions that have occurred because of colonial power imbalances, wealth imbalances, disproportionate levels of poverty and expressions of cultural customs that vary so significantly across cultures. Those tourists from the West who have visited and who continue to visit Uganda are undoubtedly most commonly from more affluent backgrounds, more used to luxurious accommodations and facilities such as abundant running water, power, food supplies and representative of larger global powers, the UK, US, Europe etc. How then, can it be denied that Westerners are accustomed to higher levels of comfort and subsequently struggle with what Africans accept as normal? It can't be. However, what does need to be made clear is that an understanding and experience of 'superior' quality of material living experience is not the same as an acceptance of superior intellect or capability. The recognition of difference of experience here

does not imply a desire to uphold the differences between cultures. There may well be the desire to move, as Bhabha suggests 'beyond' culture:

Being in the 'beyond' of culture is to inhabit an intervening space. But to dwell 'in the beyond' is also to be part of a revisionary time, a return to the present to redescribe our cultural contemporaneity; to touch the future on its hither side (Bhabha, 2013, p.108).

I would not suggest that my experience represented being in the 'beyond,' but rather the beginnings of attempts to subtly redescribe cultures as understood by those within and outside of them; perceptions of Westerners by Africans or Africans by Westerners cannot change instantaneously, particularly after a history of such stark inequality, but they can change gradually over time.

In the next image (overleaf), a fellowship colleague and I talk together with a participant on the CPD programme. We had observed her lesson in which she had implemented many of the strategies we had focused upon at the conferences and, as per the programme structure, we were asked to give her constructive feedback on what we had seen in her lesson. My accompanying analysis notes are included below.



Working with teachers in the school
 Positive environment for me, but must have been
 Challenging/intimidating - not dissimilar to
 an ofsted observation to participants.
 No 'judgements' of lessons shared, just positive
 feedback and constructive suggestions for
 further development.
 Judgements were made privately with organisation
 at start/end of programme to measure impact.
 Is this ethically sound?
 Headteacher present; sat under the mango
 tree - Social place, but no place for 'private'
 meeting. No need from 'privacy'? No perceived
 need for 'privacy'.
Privacy as a construct

Image 5: Working Relationships ii

Personal photograph taken by other visiting teacher delivering the session and shared with me after the school visit took place.

I note that this environment was positive 'for me,' but also reflect that it 'must have been challenging /intimidating-not dissimilar to an Ofsted observation to participants.' However, upon greater reflection, I believe there is cause to dispute this claim. There is no similar regulatory body for schools or teachers in Uganda, so these connotations cannot be attributed. There is no parallel experience for this teacher to draw upon as it does not exist; I liken it to the challenge and intimidation I may have felt when under inspection because I am familiar with that process, but the teachers in the programme may not ascribe such meanings. Indeed, to refer once more to the interviews, when I asked my teachers whether they found the observations helpful, they responded positively:

Me: Did you find when they came and observed lessons helpful?

B: Yes, very much because we can share the feedback after the lesson and you can see where you are then can see where need to improve.

A: Yes the improvement and the strengths.

A better question may have been to ask the teachers how they felt, but I did not ask this and so do not have any evidence on which to draw this comparison. As previously discussed however, it seems to now have been established that these observations are no longer perceived as an opportunity to judge or criticise, but rather to collaborate. I return here to the extract from a further interview with the head teacher and director (D) whereby he explained that though people initially felt concern over the observations and he faced resistance to participating or engaging with the fellowship teachers, now, he explained that there was a much more positive impression of working together towards a common goal:

So, the group who came first faced it, for you, you come when things are already understood...through the giving feedback because of course those who first refused, now it was their decision to say please, what class? You have to be with these people, these visitors because they don't know what they are doing, but they are still trying to make us understand exactly what they are up to. Now, with the time, some of the teachers came to grasp what LRTT teachers are doing and then started explaining to the rest and to the rest also came to understand. And it is now different...

These are certainly reasonable concerns and ones that I had expected. I believe I was surprised not to experience these attitudes, but also noted that 'No 'judgements' of lessons

shared, just positive feedback and constructive suggestions for further development.’ In my notes I question this approach, stating, ‘Judgements were made privately with the organisation at the start/end of the programme to measure impact. Is this ethically sound?’ My dis-ease with this practice is based on a lack of transparency and a desire to be open and honest with the teachers, but again, I wonder whether this is a decision that has been made to ensure greater compliancy with the programme based on previous tensions. Whilst understandable in the organisation’s pursuit of their perception of progress and in order to sustain a positive ‘impact,’ this was a tension for me.

The dominant narrative of the globalised principles of Western education give credence to the belief that there is a right and correct way to teach and educate. As previously discussed, this has been embraced as a truth by virtue of the existence of the programme and through the agreement of schools and teachers to engage with it. However, whilst it could be argued that this choice to engage has been made and therefore legitimises its practices, the hiding of components of the discourse such as the judgments of lessons creates something that could be considered a covert attempt to perpetuate the power of the fellows over the local teachers. This is what Bhabha (2004) would describe as an ambivalence, an inconsistency or contradiction that detracts from the more positive or pure aims of the programme to share knowledge and expertise. In my opinion, I believe it is nothing more than performing a function of a capitalist notion; the organisation wished to demonstrate a return on investment, to demonstrate proof of viability of the programme by gathering data that demonstrates the progress of teachers on the programme. For example, if they can document that a participant was rated as ‘poor’ at employing pedagogical tools at the start of the programme and is recorded as being ‘good’ by the end, then there is ‘proof’ of the programme working.

However, this does nothing to assuage beliefs perpetuated by theorists such as Nkrumah (1967, p246) that suggest that ‘invisible governments’ who make ‘wily use of cultural weapons’ in the pursuit of neo-colonialism are behind interventions such as these. Rather it perpetuates the beliefs in duplicitous, self-serving aid agencies pretending to work with and for Others in Developing countries, but actually serving ulterior motives. This is not my understanding of the programme and I stand by my assertion that there is a genuine desire to support teachers, but it is dangerous to have hidden elements to the process. Nkrumah advocates unity amongst African nations in the defeat of neo-colonialism in the same way that Rancière advocates emancipation through education, but it is my belief that this unity is also needed

between those teaching and educating in Africa and those supporting from external backgrounds. I cannot imagine that a revelation of these privately made judgements would be warmly received and can imagine that it would result in a significant detraction from the aims of the programme.

Theorists such as Anwaruddin, (2014, p.151) draw upon Rancière to argue that aid of any kind is an insult to the intelligence of those who are Othered:

...the processes of empowering the oppressed, or developing the underdeveloped, remind them of their marginalized positions, point to their inability to improve their situations and, thus, insult their intelligence. The very notion of empowering the other denies 'the equality of intelligence [which] is the common bond of humankind, the necessary and sufficient condition for a society of men to exist' (Rancière, 1987/1991, p. 73).

To overcome such a criticism, I offer two arguments. Firstly, the participants with which I spoke have uniformly agreed on the benefits of the programme and so this voice must be heard in contrast to this narrative. Secondly, as explored in my literature review, there is little opposition to the charge that education as a commodity has evolved from a local, to a national, to a globalised system. The divide between West and Other or North and South is ever evolving and being replaced by globalisation. Whilst the debate still rages over the potential of globalisation to further equality or inequality (Kacowicz, 2007), a programme such as this seeks to make use of globalisation by distributing knowledge between members of different global communities. The options now seem to become part of the globalised network and that which is otherwise and only those who are within the globalised communities are to have a voice in how these communities are shaped. This leads me to consider whether there really is any alternative to becoming a part of a global community? The emancipation and independence of teachers and educators in Uganda, I believe, can and will only occur if they are able to effectively be a part of that global community and contribute to that global discourse. Davis (2013) explores the binaries of globalisation and the pendulum-like swing of between the utopia-dystopia of globalisation, but what is more realistic is something in between; whilst globalisation will not be able to full achieve the Utopian aims of equality, equity and emancipation in all matters or more specifically in education, it is no more believable to describe this process of knowledge sharing as a dystopian form of oppression and subjugation either.

Additionally, the need for change to address the inequalities of poverty and to make improvements in education in Africa is evident. Not only is there a need for change, but change at an expedited rate. As Penn states:

...what is unarguable is that young children suffer disproportionately from these inequalities. Many commentators have drawn the link between neo-liberal economic policies (particularly when abruptly introduced), the growth of poverty and the suffering of children (Cornia and Sipos 1991; Woodward 1992; de Vylder 1996; Rampal 1999). Poor children are vulnerable in every sense; their health, their access to education, their safety in dangerous environments, their exposure to war. In short, their well-being is at stake (Penn, 2005, p.1).

Without improved access to high quality teaching and learning, such is the future of the children of Africa. Not to work towards these goals by whatever means available would be counterintuitive.

Finally, as discussed in my literature review, Rancière states that 'man is a will served by an intelligence' (Rancière, 1971, p.51). However, he also describes a further condition in the pursuit of emancipation. He suggests that it is only through the assertion of the learner's own will and their choice to be open to learning that 'emancipation' can be achieved, 'We will call the known and maintained difference of the two relations (will and intelligence) – the act of an intelligence obeying only itself even while it obeys another will – emancipation.' (Rancière, 1971, p.13). All participants on the programme choose to be there. They are not paid to attend or participate (although a generous allowance for travel is provided where needed to ensure that no participant suffers additional expense to participate). What the participants of the programme choose to do with their knowledge once the programme is ended resides with their schools. The fact that so many choose to return for multiple programmes over consecutive years would also suggest that they see a benefit to the programme. For me, the case for this programme being classified as an emancipatory act is that of the ongoing programme once the visiting fellows have left. The Lead teachers continue to share and practice that which they have learned, developing it within their own culture and context to suit their needs and they then teach others in their community. The image below and accompanying notes allude to this:



- Local teacher (Lead) taking the session -
- Creating opportunities for a peer network
 - Is this purely a positive?
 - Moves away from power / Knowledge imbalance of Western knowledge transferred to 'others'
 - Aim to 'sustainability'
 - Empowering teachers
 - Creating a culture of shared best practice
 - Aiming to raise standards
 - Conflict of 'neocolonialism' assuming the Western way is 'better,' but also the naivety of the assumption of what works successfully in 'Western' culture will also work in a different context.
 - Lack of understanding / appreciation for the uniqueness of different cultural contexts.

Image 6: Local Teacher Delivery of Training

Whilst the ongoing tension still exists, that the 'Western way is better' and that there is an inherent naivety of the assumption of there being a way to universally apply teaching methods that suit all, irrespective of culture and context, I note that this image illustrates how the programme 'moves away from power/knowledge imbalance' and towards 'sustainability' by 'creating a culture of shared best practice' and 'aiming to raise standards' in the culture and context in which this session takes place and to which this teacher belongs. I believe this to be what Bhabha (2004) might term to be a third or liminal space whereby the participants and cultures of the formerly colonised and former colonisers interact within a contact zone, in order to shape new identities and new, more globalised cultures within the specific sphere of education. Much like in Ashcroft's (2009) analogy for literary character, the 'actors' here are the teachers and they enter into this 'transcultural space...in which cultural identity develops. . . the space of postcolonial transformation' (Ashcroft, 2009, p.108) in order to renegotiate their relationships not only with each other, but with education, learning and pedagogy in order to begin a transformation toward something else, a different world vision perhaps for what successful education is or should be.

Bauman argues that there is always a price to be paid when entering into a community, whether on a smaller, local scale or the ultimate global scale being discussed here and suggests that the price is that of freedom:

The price is paid in the currency of freedom, variously called 'autonomy', 'right to self-assertion', 'right to be yourself'... Missing community means missing security; gaining community, if it happens, would soon mean missing freedom. Security and freedom are two equally precious and coveted values which could be better or worse balanced, but hardly ever fully reconciled without friction (Bauman, 2001, p.4-5).

Globalisation is often discussed as a seemingly sinister or corrupting force, that aims to take away our freedoms, but it should be countered that the balancing act as described above is what needs to be negotiated in order to ensure both the security of a global community that seeks to educate all without stifling the freedom of being able to respond to individual cultures and their needs. Replication of an education system wholesale remains an irresolvable conflict in my writing and interpretation. Sharing method is a positive, provided that we do not fall into a trap of replicating one educational system as being the pinnacle of success. At any rate, which system would we choose? There is not global agreement on the best ways to educate; although there are clear similarities between educational systems across

the globe, none are identical, so perhaps there exists an implicit recognition of the need to mediate between globally understood methods that have proven effective and the creation of a bespoke system for each nation that has proven effective. I would personally go further than this and suggest that there should be several available systems within each national system to suit the diverse needs of individual learners rather than assuming all students are the same, much like we acknowledge that all continents, countries or states are not the same. There can be the opportunity where the replication of a system or strategy exists because it has proven itself effective, but not the carbon copying without an ‘understanding and appreciation for the uniqueness of different cultural contexts.’

Evidence of the programme’s success could be provided from the participant evaluations of the course. However, there was also a concern that the responses to interviews and feedback collected by the organisation may be subject to response bias, meaning that participants might respond positively as they (consciously or otherwise) aim to give the responses that they perceive as correct or welcome. I noted this in my accompanying notes to feedback images captured:

should be their to train others that have other new teachers that are in service. Because for me it has helped me so much

COMMENTS AND FEEDBACK

- Good job done our coaches and [redacted]
- It has been a successful training, may the Almighty God bless LBTI members abundantly.
- We do extend our thanks to you all the members.

COMMENTS AND FEEDBACK

Our coaches were good in message delivery that is in how to teach, what techniques should we apply in teaching to make successful lessons and engage students in learning, differentiation according to their ability [redacted] has been so fantastic and amazing to me.

the Organisation.
All comments were positive. Consider that this could be a factor influenced by a desire to please coaches/organisation.
However, anonymous and this question could have been omitted.

- ① If assumed as 'genuine' representations of experience, they portray positive response to the programme on its impact.
- Is there too much criticism of 'post colonial' support?
- Can it be said that, although not faultless, there are benefits?
- When evaluating such programmes should more weight be given to participants' feedback rather than theorising/problematising the evidence in the first instance?

② If assumed as false representations of experience, why?

- What power/control is exerted over participants to coerce such a response?
- Money? Fee for attending program?
- Remittance of Colonial system?

Image 7: Feedback

I raise several concerns. If these comments are accurate representation of participants' opinions, then although faults do exist, there is merit to the programme, 'Can it be said that although not faultless, there are benefits?' However, I also posit that if these comments are understood to be influenced by power structures at play, if they are false, 'what power/control is exerted over participants to coerce such a response?' To respond to this question is not a simplistic task. To the best of my knowledge no 'fee' or 'money' is given for attendance, only a bursary to cover transportation costs and the remanence of a colonial system to incite such a response is impossible to measure. However, I do think it pertinent to question my own tendency towards questioning these responses; I am quick to question the responses of the Ugandan teachers here and I noticed that I did likewise when exploring my interviews.

In examining the transcripts of the interviews, I noted the frequency with which I questioned the authenticity of responses from the local Ugandan teachers, constantly questioning whether what I would deem as favourable responses towards the CPD programme were genuine or a product of response bias (Mizock, Harkins & Morant, 2011, West et al., 2018). This was discussed at length with another academic researcher also conducting research whilst on location in Uganda. An extract from this interview (with participant E) is included below:

Interview 3

...there's this huge internal battle that we have I think as public servants acknowledging the issues with the presence of global north and the global south that's such a huge problem that I can't really reconcile... Is that presence necessary? What would that look like if we weren't here? Are there types of aid that are productive? I think that's where my cognitive dissonance comes in...I don't know... being here and hearing from the (local) teachers they seem to disprove that theory, but at the same time are they really being honest with me because I am from the Global North? Are they just saying that they want LRTT to be here because they provide their money for transportation and then they can just use that money not for transportation...and how deeply engrained that is here...here in the East coast of Africa with its very colonial roots.... You have to make sure that you're always evaluating the effectiveness of your programme and that it's meeting the needs of the community. As soon as it's not meeting the needs then there's no longer a need for you to be there. It's just benefitting you; it's one-sided and so to have the lead teacher programme it's just like

the ultimate buy in because it benefits every single person involved, that's what you should look at... is this benefiting every single in country teacher? I think that's kind of the empowerment... when you're building a network of teachers in country that once you're gone still sustains, that's what empowerment is...giving them tools so that they can sustain it themselves, but to going even a step further beyond that...they can even build that network even more...

It was clear to me that both she and I were keen to question the validity of the programme and really interrogate its impact, both on teaching and learning and the participants, but it was difficult to divorce from feelings of concern over whether participants would be honest in their feedback, particularly as a result of the formerly colonised location and former colonisers being utilised to deliver the training. Here, this sentiment is coupled with her own desire to ensure there is lasting impact in terms of a positive impact on teachers and the empowering of participants to create their own network of excellent teaching and shared pedagogy. Put in much plainer terms below, I echo these concerns in the recording of myself being interviewed about the same topic; responding to a question over whether I thought the programme was working and whether the data being collected by the programme for the social enterprise organisation was effective enough to give an accurate picture of the programme:

Interview of myself:

They are doing an absolutely awesome job in what has happened so far and in what the ambition is and I would not have joined the programme if I did not have faith in it and I still see it in a positive light, but I view everything with a critical lens...but there is always room to improve and I think there needs to be that in country dialogue with the in country staff because I don't think that happens often enough because that's one perspective isn't it, to talk to us, to talk to the team leaders, but what about the perspective of the in country teachers? I think you need a rapport and in some respect, perhaps you're not the right person to ask that...I don't even know that I'm the right the right person as the fellow who trained a staff member to get them to open up either because there's the inherent power dynamic, they're not going to tell me, 'yeah, you were shit.' You're a muzungu. Maybe ■ (local liaison teacher) would be the better person to do that because he straddles the two cultures, he works with us, but he's local, he's African, they know him-they've grown up with him. He is trusted... We're making assumptions that we know you and your needs.

This mistrust poses interesting and largely conflicting positions. Firstly, there is an unwillingness to take people at their word, a mistrust that, although derived from a desire to ensure the programme is useful and effective, reinforces the power imbalance between the fellowship teachers and researchers and the in-country teachers; why is it impossible to take people at their word and look to find alternative ways to ensure that their feedback is genuine? This likely stems from the circumstances of the formerly colonial identities of all parties and what I could term a 'hypervigilance' to ensure accurate representation. It is perhaps possible to suggest that as a result of my intention to mitigate against my own influence I have inadvertently reinforced the identities of the powerful and the oppressed. Although borne of positive intent, it could be said that my questioning of the authenticity of responses, something I did not engage with in my reviewing of responses from Western teachers, is further acting to disempower the voices of my participants. Although driven by my own anxiety over historical events, it is perhaps not useful to dwell too significantly on this conundrum as no concrete conclusion is likely to ever be drawn. However, it is important to note, as if I were not to demonstrate my awareness of this influence, both on myself and on my participants, I would question my reflexivity as a researcher.

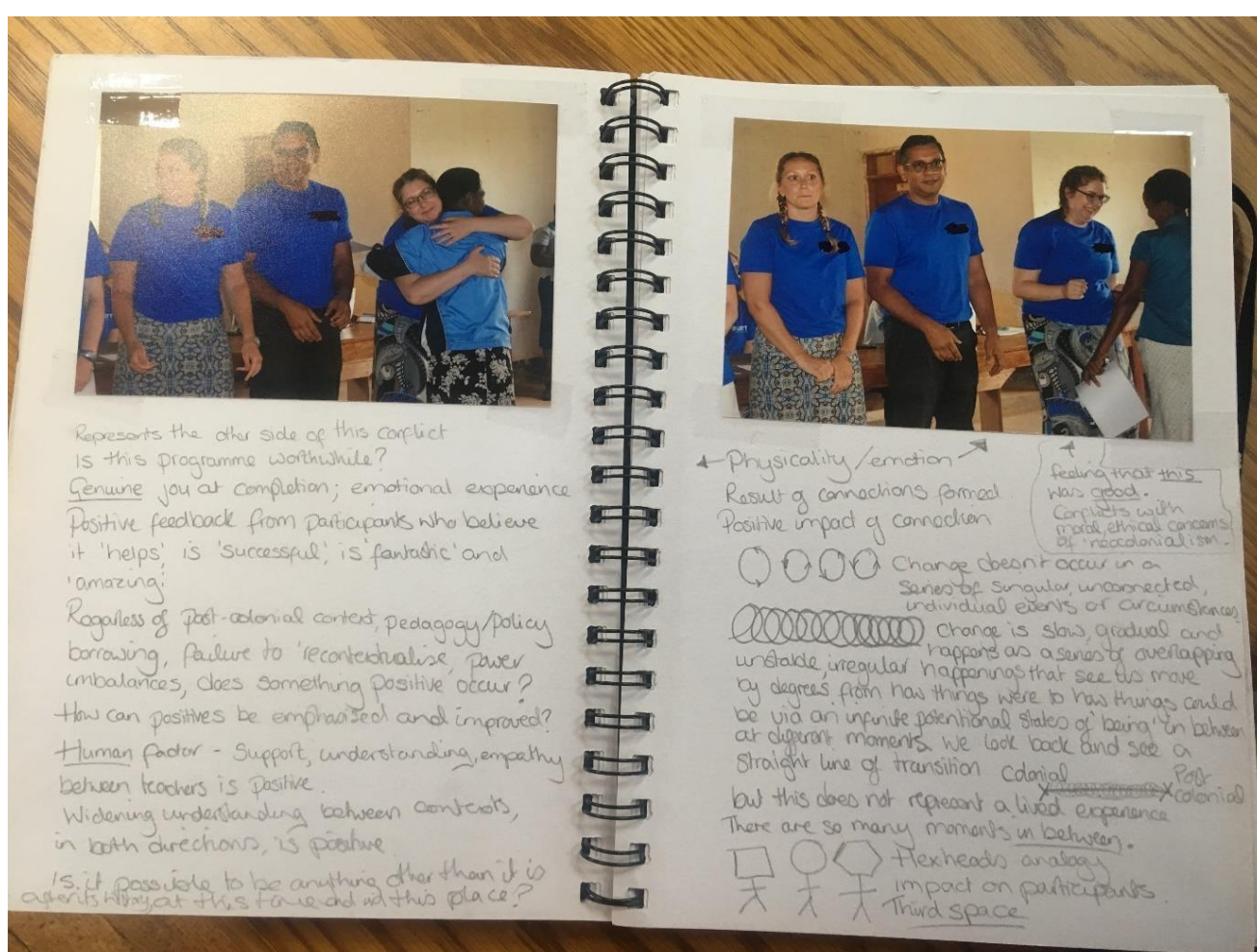
It seems critical then to look for any further evidence I have of the relationships I, as a participant-researcher, and we, as a collective group of teachers, developed. Are they possible to interpret through Bhabha's (1994) model of hybridity or entering into a liminal or third space? To answer this question, I look one more time to the images captured, this time at the end of the second and final conference day. I am interested in the impact on both the fellowship volunteers who have come to represent a globalised identity and the Ugandan teachers who can be taken to represent that which is Other, formerly colonised and formerly outside of globalisation.



Image 8: Closing Ceremony

Personal photographs taken by other visiting teacher attending and shared with me after the ceremony took place.

These images depict the closing ceremony in which participants were congratulated by their fellows and awarded certificates for completing the programme. This, as previously discussed, is a practice that elevates the status of the training received and conforms to cultural norms where this study took place. However, these images also convey a more human side to this debate. All parties were emotionally moved by the experience and have zoomed in upon my own images as evidence of this. There is genuine joy expressed by both myself and, I believe, the participants in the programme at this ceremony. Something that without these images may not be captured. I am visibly delighted by their joy at success and it is testament to the bonds of relationships formed during this programme. My corresponding notes provide further scope for reflection:



I reflect on the participants feedback that the project 'helps,' is 'successful' and described using adjectives such as 'fantastic' and 'amazing' as evidence and consider whether 'Regardless of pot-colonial context, pedagogy/policy borrowing, failures to recontextualise, does something positive occur?' I conclude that 'support, understanding, empathy between teachers is

positive' and 'widening understanding between contexts in both directions is positive,' but also question whether it is 'possible to be anything other than it is after its history at this time and in this place?'

I believe this to be a valid question and accurate way to reflect upon the tensions between trying to improve the quality of teaching and learning in a post-colonial context by utilising teacher-led CPD delivered by Western teachers. The vestiges of colonial thinking are evident because they cannot be otherwise in this context. Past events cannot be altered and should not be forgotten or overlooked. If this were the case then no concerns or feelings of dis-ease when exploring ties to neo-colonialism would exist. However, I also believe that this is also resultant of the anxiety surrounding evolving identities of those who were the formerly colonised and colonisers. As Kalua, alluding to Said (1993) explains,

Gone are the binary oppositions of the nationalist and imperialist enterprise. Instead we begin to sense that old authority cannot simply be replaced by new authority, but that new alignments made across borders, types, nations, and essences are coming into view, and it is those new alignments that now provoke and challenge the fundamentally and static notion of identity (1993, xxviii). (Kalua, 2009, p.29)

I also consider that as a result of the very personal connections made, despite this context a 'positive impact' is evident. The two images on the left side of my notes should be referred to in order to explain this assertion. Rather than seeing cycles of change as 'singular, unconnected individual events,' as per the first diagram, I reflect that, 'Change is slow, gradual and happens as a series of overlapping, unstable, irregular happenings that see us move by degrees from how things were to how things could be via an infinite potential states of 'being' in between at different moments.'

Further than this, I suggest that 'We look back and see a straight line of transition, but this does not represent a lived experience. There are so many moments in between.' To me, this programme represents one of many iterations or cycles of change. Whilst we may wish to see singular, swift motion from colonialism to equality, the reality is that we are perhaps still somewhere mid-cycle of one of the many more minor revolutions required to enact significant change. However, unless we continue to interrogate our actions, experience dis-ease when we stray too close towards that which could be identified as neo-colonialism and question the

roles we play in this transition, we could, all too easily, move the opposite way and see colonialism continue to play out still.

A further extract from my reflective journal expresses this concern, making reference to the well-worn 'pendulum' metaphor that has been used to describe the dualism of either/or systems of thinking or being; a metaphor I will return to in the conclusion chapter:

Getting beyond 'well-meaning pity' and establishing mutual respect was a central concern to me during this experience and one that was felt acutely at times, especially when I began to feel that an element of neo-colonialism could exist here. Western visitors preaching pedagogy without fully understanding or appreciating the intricacies of the context was not something I could easily reconcile with. Had the interviews with staff and conversations with R (Ugandan driver) not taken place, I might not have been able to see the positive in either situation. I have noticed that my default position is one of guilt. I feel acutely aware of the damage done to people in this country and the exploitation of resources that colonialists from my home country enacted...It was a surreal part of the experience that made me conscious at every point of how I might be perceived or how my actions could be misconstrued. Perhaps my concerns were prevalent before I became involved with the programme, but they were only emphasised once we arrived. This is not a conflict I feel able to fully resolve, I may well never be able to. I swing pendulum-like between the positives of the impact of such a programme and the negatives of neo-colonialism and cultural ignorance that could occur.

Evidence of the programme's success could be provided from the participant evaluations of the course. However, there was also a concern that the responses to interviews and feedback collected by the organisation may be subject to response bias, meaning that participants might respond positively as they (consciously or otherwise) aim to give the responses that they perceive as correct or welcome. I noted this in my accompanying notes to feedback images captured (see Image 7).

Despite these anonymous feedback forms, not a part of my own data collection, but rather that of the social enterprise that I participated in, and my own interviews conducted with Ugandan participants categorising the programme as successful and beneficial, I am still concerned by response bias here and by the quality of questions being used to ascertain data; I

have referred repeatedly to the need to avoid such straight-line questioning, but also to avoid a stultifying assumption. Perhaps this is, once again, a concern formed by the 'feelings of guilt' (DeLuca and Batts Maddox, 2015, p284) I have consistently struggled with and the desire to represent participants fairly and an almost debilitating concern over the 'authority our words and ideas' (Josselson 1996, P.60). However, perhaps this unfairly prejudices me towards the authenticity of these responses, even perpetuate the discourse of incapacity (Anwaruddin, 2014) in another way; by assuming that Ugandan participants are unable to discern for themselves what is or might be of positive impact.

There are two bullet points within my notes that I feel it pertinent to close this chapter with. The first asks, 'Can it be said that although not faultless, there are benefits?' and the second states, 'When evaluating such programmes, should more weight be given to the participants feedback, rather than theorising/problematising the(ir) existence in the first instance?'

These two points represent my final impression of the programme. I believe that there are troubling tensions, a sense of dis-ease (Sweetman, 2003) that exist throughout the conception, development and delivery of a programme such as this and that it may even represent the acceptance of a globalised system of education at the cost of the appreciation of different ways of learning and belonging to diverse cultures within the world. However, it is not without scope and space for profound possibility. There are benefits, as is testified by the local participants who state these to be providing 'help' in the fulfilment of aims 'to make successful lessons and engage students in learning, differentiated for their ability.'

It is also my belief that situations that enable members of different cultures to be together and begin to 'redescribe' one another's identities are the only way to move beyond the previous colonial way of being. A discourse of incapacity cannot be altered unless alternative discourses emerge and they will only do so through interactions so that we see each other as something other than a single story of binaries; coloniser and colonised, powerful and powerless, superior and inferior. Until we are able to move beyond this the ignorant will be stultified by the explicator and there is no way to change this relationship. As well as looking at the ways to problematise this programme, it is necessary to look beyond those problems and evaluate the positive in order to build upon it and enact change, to create a liminal space.

This chapter has represented the data collected and collated over the course of my experience participating in a programme delivering teacher-led CPD in rural Uganda. I generated an

autoethnographic account that has drawn on the full range of my research methods in order to glean insights into how participation in the programme was lived and experienced. Rather than seeking to validate my experience in the positivist sense, I have sought to find points of resonance between my interpretations and the voices of others engaged with the programme. Furthermore, I have endeavoured to expose the tensions that occur throughout participation in such a programme and give voice to the dis-ease that is often ignored. In the Discussion: autoethnographic reflections chapter that follows, I will draw on the points emerging from this chapter and discuss how these points assist in responding to the research questions given for this thesis.

7.0 Conclusions

The data collected in the field and the interrogation of it throughout the autoethnographic text in the previous section will be discussed in this chapter in order to identify explicitly the understanding and ideas clarified throughout this research thesis. This chapter offers interpretivist insights that are of use in the construction of a knowledge base pertaining to CPD work of this kind between and across different cultural contexts in education and that could be relevant in other similar systems of knowledge or understanding. In order to steer the conclusions in this chapter, I will return explicitly to the research questions for this thesis.

Research question:

What are the tensions that characterise continuing professional development (CPD) when a Western educator is involved in provision in a non-Western context?

Subsidiary Questions:

1. How is teacher-led CPD experienced by teachers from vastly different cultural contexts?
2. Are teacher led professional development programmes delivered by Western teachers to Ugandan teachers a form of neo-colonialism?
3. Can Western-led programmes have a positive impact?

There are many tensions that are revealed throughout this study that characterise work of this nature. In order to make this discussion both more coherent and more cohesive, I have chosen to discuss these tensions through three key themes, all of which speak directly to the research questions above and are rooted within the theorists drawn upon in my literature review. These themes are the perpetuation of neo-colonialism, moving beyond stultification and the renegotiation of communities and identities in a globalised world.

7.1 The Perpetuation of Neo-Colonialism

Firstly, my interpretation of the data suggests that colonial shadows can never be outrun and nor should they be. Entering into a programme that sets out to share knowledge between two groups of professional people with the intention of enhancing practice is and should be acknowledged as an attempt to establish a community of practice (Lave and Wenger, 1991).

However, being a part of such a community does not divorce its members from structures of power that either exist in the present or have a key role in the participants mutual histories; in fact, it does the opposite. Communities do indeed represent collaborative partnerships between their members, but those members inevitably are given roles and these roles are, more often than not, articulated as a hierarchy. Hierarchies of power in all communities are dictated by experience, intelligence, education, wealth, competences and a multitude of other factors that are prioritised by those communities. It is those within any given community who are perceived as being higher up the chain of the hierarchy who have the ability to determine which competencies make it into the shared practices of the community.

In response to the tension that questions whether such a programme is a form of neo-colonialism, rather than one which is constructive, beneficial and invited, there is a desire to subvert narratives of colonial and neo-colonial discourse. In my experience, it is the case that participants want to shy away from narratives of neo-colonialism and the subsequent hierarchies of knowledge and this is where one of the most common tensions of this thesis resides. Those participating in teacher-led CPD and from a Western background, myself included, would sometimes like to pretend that a community of practice established with those who are Othered is free of structures of hierarchy, but this is neither accurate nor realistic. Whilst teachers from different locations and cultures collectively share the identity of 'teacher,' when there is an intention to share best practice, there is also evidently a hierarchy of knowledge; that which is best and that which is everything else. In the literature review, I questioned what was at stake in the naming of educational theory and/or pedagogy as Western? However, this question overlooks that there already exists a well-established hierarchy of educational systems within the world and empirical data is used to support this hierarchy from bodies such as PISA, UNESCO and The World Bank. Education has become a global commodity and 'there is a growing global market in policy ideas' (Ball, 2012b, p.23). Those demonstrating greatest success within the data collected by such international institutions, are assumed to have more knowledge and, subsequently, greater power. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to address the fairness or validity of this knowledge hierarchy or how its order has been arrived at, but it is a hierarchy whose existence must be acknowledged. This is a further tension that characterises such work; being a part of this programme can appear to legitimise this hierarchy, whether intentionally or not, consciously or not is very much dependent on the individuals taking part and likely varies from person to person.

The sharing of this knowledge could be interpreted as a way to disseminate power (providing each in possession of knowledge with equal shares of power) or it could be interpreted as reinforcing the hierarchy as the power will inevitably reside with those who decide with whom and when to share their knowledge. In interrogating his own theory of communities of practice, Wenger states, 'you cannot give people knowledge without inviting them into an identity for which this knowledge represents a meaningful way of being' (Farnsworth, 2016, p.145). The question of what precisely this 'meaningful way of being' denotes is a further tension consistently returned to throughout this study, but what is clear is that it cannot be a way of being that dictates absolute equality of power and influence.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to become equals when the playing field is uneven-the 'global' education system is undoubtedly (and for better or worse) evolved from the 'Western' education system and so Westerners do, by virtue of the culture to which they belong, have greater experience of it. They are, as Rancière would term them, the masters. However, what forms another tension is whether it is possible for them to be ignorant masters that facilitate emancipatory learning, or master explicators that stultify those who learn from them.

As a result of the context of the relationships formed between Western teaching fellows and the teachers in Africa, in the context of post-colonialism, the viewing of the Other as deficient or incapacitated is not one that is easily overlooked, nor should it be. Indeed, the viewing of others as Others at all is to reinforce colonialist perspectives. However, that which has become globalised has become synonymous with that which is modern, sophisticated, advanced. Anything that is not considered a part of that which is globalised has, by default, become, 'otherwise than modernity' (Bhabha, 1996, p.108). Kalua (2009, p.26) suggests that Africa is 'a shifting sign that bears the traces of the Other or Others,' but also asserts that 'new alignments now provoke and challenge the fundamentally static notion of identity' (p.29). It is perhaps the biggest strength of a programme such as this that enables visitors to see something more than the desperate and dependant (Mheta, 2015) identities perpetuated in the single story previously established within the media.

In the introduction to this thesis, I expressed my own personal concern at the narrowing focus of a one-size-fits-all model of education; both as a national system in the UK and, more broadly, as a network of international educational systems that abject those who do not conform to their exacting standards. I grappled with a reductive notion of that which constitutes good, effective and high quality education has gained momentum alongside

globalisation (Ball, Goodson and Maguire, 2007; Ball, 2012a; Ball, 2012b; Dale and Robertson, 2009; Young, 2009), but during the course of this thesis, I have begun to observe that creating teacher networks has the potential, though not the guarantee of challenging these reductive notions.

Bhabha suggests that cultures which represent 'postcolonial contra-modernity' have another role, 'they also deploy the cultural hybridity of their borderline conditions to 'translate', and therefore reinscribe, the social imaginary of both metropolis and modernity' (Bhabha, 1996, p.108). As such, Bhabha points towards the possibility of a break-down of such 'imagined communities' and suggests that what begins to emerge is 'beyond' culture, suggesting a more hopeful future where we might be able to 'dwell in the beyond' and so become a 'part of a revisionary time, a return to the present to redescribe our cultural contemporaneity' (Bhabha, 2013, p.108). It is in no way my assertion that this programme could claim to have reached this point yet, but rather that it might represent one-minute revolution of a slow-moving wheel that demonstrates the potential for us all to slowly transform into something other than the shared identities of former coloniser and former colonised and, in doing so, to begin to challenge inherent notions of what is considered best practice.

Through collaboration and a discourse that arises when agents of different cultures become mutually more aware of their similarities, rather than their difference, we begin shifting in overlapping, iterative cycles, moving towards the beyond. We may never reach equality, to be able to balance level on the pivotal scales of power may not ever be possible. Rather than the pendulum metaphor I used in my fieldwork journals, which might suggest that communities can switch from either colonial or non-colonial based power relationships in the same way that we perceive notions of other binaries; guilt or innocence, night or day (Goodman, Page and Phelps, 2017), power may shift back and forth, more like the motion of gradual tipping scales, struggling to balance and counterbalance when negotiating unevenly distributed weights. However, in striving to find equilibrium and mutual respect, we may be able to move closer towards it. Surely, the pursuit of this 'beyond' can only occur as we replace Others with others and surely this can only occur if we become a community. Bauman (2001) may suggest this is an idealised place, a paradise-lost, but he also states that it is a place where 'our duty, purely and simply, is to help each other, and so our right, purely and simply, is to expect that the help we need will be forthcoming' (Bauman, 2001, p.P2).

There will always be positions of power and influence and it is therefore impossible to expect a community to be perfect, but so too should there always be the intention towards being positive members of that community who will ‘help each other.’ This ‘help’ needs to be more than something born of ‘well meaning pity’ (Adichie, 2016); it needs to be given in the spirit of mutual respect and in an attempt to share expertise in a constructive and pragmatic sense in order to ensure equal access to an increasingly globalised market of work and education. The imbalance of power and colonial history makes this programme inescapably troubling, but it does not necessarily follow that this makes the programme nothing more than a perpetuation of neo-colonialism.

7.2 Moving Beyond Stultification

So then, how is teacher-led CPD experienced by teachers from vastly different cultural contexts? My data shows that whilst the experiences vary significantly, they are experienced positively by those engaging with them. The teachers I interviewed and those who fed back to the programmes’ impact study (Kurten and Smith, 2017) showed this to be the case, not only in Uganda, but in other similar programmes running across the globe, albeit to varying degrees. Those visiting, like myself, enjoyed seeing and beginning to understand education in the world beyond their home classrooms and felt that they had developed as practitioners as a result, whilst those participating from ‘developing countries,’ gained access to the systems operating in those countries considered to be more ‘developed’ than their own. This is, as discussed, a term laden with implications and whether this constitutes an emancipatory process or one that stultifies, cannot be easily resolved.

To follow Anwaruddin’s (2014) Rancièrian reading is tempting; the presumption that ‘developing countries’ require intervention in the development of their educational systems, be that at a policy or pedagogy level, can be easily understood to fuel a ‘discourse of incapacity.’ His accusation that this epistemicide, resulting in a largely Eurocentric pedagogicised society is difficult to refute, but, like Rancière himself, Anwaruddin struggles to determine how emancipation can be realistically achieved,

...never will the student catch up with the master, nor the people with its enlightened elite; but the hope of getting there makes them advance along the good road, the one of perfected explications’ (p. 120). In this way, the distance between the developed and

the under-developed, between the master and the pupil, will always persist (Anwaruddin, 2014. P.164).

However, to take this view of such a programme would neglect to acknowledge the aim to withdraw the external intervention of Western teachers as an explicating force and to create lasting communities of practice (that are both local and international), whereby all pedagogues learn from each other. Whilst this purpose of the programme does not fully exist yet, within its early stages, where knowledge is being disseminated from the knowledgeable masters downwards to the less knowledgeable students, it is not the intention for the programme to remain this way. For Rancière, emancipation 'is the process of verification of the equality of intelligence' (Rancière, 2007b, p. 275). If the programme is instead seen as a part of this verification process, then it is possible to imagine a future that can be envisioned as emancipatory. In this case, there is the potential to see the positive impact such a programme has, not only on its participants, but on their mutual communities as a whole.

In relation to the World Bank, Anwaruddin damningly suggests,

...as long as the master claims the power to emancipate the slave, the slave will never be equal to the master. As long as the colonizer assumes the power to emancipate the colonized, the colony can at best become a former colony, but never equal to the metropole (Anwaruddin, 2014. P.167).

There is, at the core of this programme an underlying assumption that broadly speaking Western teachers have knowledge to share and expertise to disseminate. In doing so, these fellows could be perceived as agents of neo-colonialism, they could be considered as master explicators that reinforce these binary identities. This tension is clearly visible in my journals, in the interviews that I undertook and perhaps even within the writing of this thesis because the shadows of our former identities are so very difficult to shake, but this is not my experience or reading of the programme as a whole. The intention of the programme is to demonstrate how established communities of practice enable all to learn from one another and for communities of practice to continue without the identification of participants as being 'Western' or 'Other,' rather just teachers across the globe hoping to mutually exchange their experiences and strategies for the benefit of each other. There are undoubtedly moments where the programme currently falls short of mutually equal exchanges of experience, such as the moments described within the ethnographic text whereby the conference workshop

sessions felt ill-suited to the context, where I questioned the ways in which no autonomy or voice had been given to the local teachers in selecting the workshop content and the ways in which the programme as a whole is designed by Westerners without nearly enough consultation with the local teachers and their input. In fact, it should also perhaps be considered that this programme falls short of what many in the West would identify as the most effective forms of teacher education as it does not reflect the 'research rich, self-improving education system' recognised as the most effective forms of teacher education (BERA-RSA, 2014, p.7). Surely, in a programme that demonstrates mutual respect, those participating should be afforded the opportunity to choose the content rather than being told what is best for them and the programme should also be designed both by and for those participating to feature the most effective forms of teacher education available, regardless of location. However, I also note that this is something that the programme wishes to develop further over time, albeit that this was not the case during my experience. I strongly implore those running organisations such as this to continue to work towards this aim and to continue to employ cultural and educational theories to build a discourse that both supports and problematises social enterprises in this way; it is only by doing so that they can strive towards the improvements needed to move beyond stultification.

Were this programme to exist within a different set of circumstances, for example, experienced teachers from one school, spending time observing, delivering workshops and mutually developing their practice with experienced teachers from another school in a neighbouring town or otherwise similar culture and context, there would be little mileage in the argument of neo-colonialist roles being applied to the participants. However, it is impossible to divorce this programme from its own context and so, these troubling moments of dis-ease and tensions need to be continually explored and questioned explicitly in order to maintain progress away from colonisation and towards mutually reciprocal communities of practice. Were this a programme existing in only one location, such as in the UK, it would be far easier for the participants from similar settings to swap locations and for them to observe lessons, deliver workshops and strive for improvement together in the mutual pursuit of the development of practice. However, it would be expected that a consultation process might already exist where participants are asked to comment on areas that they considered appropriate content for the focus of such workshops.

What inhibits this sort of like for like process in Uganda is primarily, the cost. Western teachers can afford to fund international travel to volunteer in educational social enterprise;

African teachers, by and large, cannot. There is an undeniable inequality of wealth and income which means that privileges such as travel are beyond reach for the African participants. However, it is not my belief that this should therefore result in the programmes being seen as nothing more than colonialist exploitation. There are those (Chabbott & Ramirez, 2000) that would argue that without improving the educational outcomes of a society, economic growth will not occur. Equally, the prescriptive nature of the programme is, often, a matter of convenience and logistics; those Western teachers delivering the content are briefed ahead of time in order to prepare. Once again, the infancy of this programme has perhaps dictated that these topics need to be set in advance, but should be negotiated more fully as the relationships develop, so that there is greater equality from the outset of future iterations of this programme.

Given that, as previously discussed, Western methods and policy in education are fast becoming a globalised set of methods and policy which is reinforced by authorities like PISA, UNESCO and The World Bank, my earlier musings over whether those outside of this global model, such as in Uganda, have to assimilate in order to survive, is most simply answered in the affirmative; yes. The pressure is so great that doing otherwise is no longer viable and the narrative of 'West is Best' has become inescapable as a result of such authorities. Those refusing to assimilate will most likely be subjected to even greater pressures, unless they are able to demonstrate an alternative way of educating their students that enable them to outperform children assessed from the West in the global indicators for education. This perhaps offers another rationale behind a Western dictate for the content of such programmes. However, what is achievable is that by participants, or actors, being able to find a 'contact zone' (Ashcroft, 2009, p.108) in programmes such as these, where they have an opportunity to enter into a third or liminal space (Bhabha 1994), both their own identities and the identities that they have constructed for each other can be renegotiated and transformed, binaries of 'us' and 'them' can be broken down and replaced with 'we.' It is only through attempts to reach this third space that a move away from neo-colonialism towards decolonisation can ever be achieved, that the imbalanced scales can become more equally weighted. Whilst Rancière might suggest equality should be the starting point, not the end goal in a learning centred programme such as this, it is clear that this programme and others like it do not exist in a self-contained bubble. They are part of the context and history in which they are located and so these renegotiations and transformations may take time. As

Rancière himself has acknowledged, emancipatory learning is an idealised state, yet that is not to suggest that it is any less one that should be striven towards.

As discussed towards the end of the autoethnographic text and as alluded to here, the models of education I draw upon view hierarchical knowledge negatively, believing a one-way cascade of knowledge from those at the top to those perceived to be at the bottom as a negative, stultifying process. This could represent a colonial model of thinking; the West or Westerner at the top disseminating its knowledge downwards, to the unknowing, ignorant and Othered masses. Power is maintained by the powerful because they have possession of knowledge and choose with whom and when to share that knowledge. Somewhat naively, at the start of this programme and at various points throughout, I wished to advocate a dialogic model whereby all participants were able to interact as equals. This would represent a more idealised model whereby there is no one dominating a hierarchy, rather all participants have equal knowledge and power to share that knowledge with whomever they choose to. However, we do not live in a society where power imbalances do not exist, nor where all people share equal knowledge on all subjects. Although seemingly preferable to a hierarchy as explained above, it is perhaps not fully possible for such a system to exist. Equality is an ideal state, one that we may strive for, but that can rarely be achieved in realistic terms.

Conversely, I would suggest that perhaps there is a system whereby a body of so-called 'superior' knowledge exists, however, rather than seeing this as being purely belonging to the West or to the powerful, it is rather a professional body of knowledge that is ignorant of location and maybe even culture; it is what has emerged over the discourses surrounding teaching and learning and education as unifying experience of being effective. It is continually built upon, transient and transformative, and it belongs to all who interact with it. It may well have started as a Western notion of education, with all the trial, triumph and tribulations that come with what I would personally assert is a flawed system, but through iterative process and refinement, educational practice and pedagogy, evolves. In this model there does exist a hierarchy, a powerful elite at the top, which might be recognisable as a globalised system of education that is identifiable as those international tests and measures that dictate the economic success of the nation states and their workforce. However, those within the system can converse and collaborate and what emerges within those global constraints is a body of pedagogical knowledge that is shared by all who engage with its discourse. Though it could be argued that this 'reflects an epistemic monoculture based on Western neoliberal capitalist worldviews' (Anwaruddin, 2014, p.163), it could be argued that there still room for diversity

and difference beyond the top tier of knowledge production and power. In which case, could this diversity and difference not create new knowledge that might, in turn, be fed back towards the upper tier of power?

This third model seeks to acknowledge that whilst there is a hierarchy, a globalised vision of what education is or should be that might be determined by those considered to be powerful or successful on a global scale, beyond these overarching principles, there is room for dialogue and discourse between all who practice these systems in the common pursuit of bettering the system for all. Perhaps, optimistically an additional flow of knowledge and discourse could also be added to demonstrate how the knowledge formulated by the dialogic, global network might feedback to the top layer of the hierarchy over time.

This sort of model that allows for a more fluid transfer of knowledge and the subsequent power that it wields. This is the sort of dialogic practice required in order to ensure that rather than imitations and mimicry (Bhabha, 2004) of imposed educational systems from one more powerful force on another, as per colonisation, all who participate become ever evolving identities that represent hybridity within a third space.

There is a further tension discussed in the literature review that subsequently questions to what extent programmes such as the one at the centre of this study might be affirming not only singular identities of teachers and students, but also singular educational practices and needs. It is this tension that traces its way through all of my practice as a teacher. Systems of education do, I believe, assume a one-size-fits-all approach and neglect to recognise that individual learners experience learning in vastly different ways. As previously stated, it is a problem I have experienced in the UK in the provision of an ever-narrowing curriculum and an increasingly academic emphasis on education. This challenge is often overlooked in the UK and is, arguably, also replicated here; not with regards to curriculum which is beyond the reach of influence for this programme, but rather in the adoption of pedagogical principles, like those topics cited as the focus for the teaching conference weekend; differentiation, groupwork, assessment for learning. However, this tension is a quieter voice in this narrative because those teachers participating all seem to value these sessions and participants from both Uganda and the West describe their impact as positive. Whilst this continues to be a personal apprehension, there is little evidence to speak of it here because the focus is pedagogy rather than curriculum content. There is no assertion that all pedagogical practices will work for all students, rather a menu of strategies being provided that the local, Ugandan

teachers can select from on the basis of their own expertise and knowledge of their students. Whilst the menu is set by Western agenda, a clear demonstration of an imbalance of power, it is up to the local, Ugandan practitioners to select the items most suited to their contexts. Whilst I might argue this does not go far enough to represent decolonisation, it does move at least some distance from neo-colonialism. However, what remains to be seen is whether this shift is indicative of moving towards inhabiting a third, liminal space in between these two binaries, a step towards, but not yet arriving at a moment of decolonisation, or whether it is, less optimistically, simply a stalling pause, somewhere between the two, but that will not lead any further. This is not something that can be judged at this point; in many ways, a liminal space can only be viewed as such once we have moved beyond it and can recognise it as a moment of being in the between. It would therefore be interesting to revisit this and other similar programmes at intervals in the future; after five, ten or twenty years, I would like to know whether there is still such an imbalance in the administration, organisation and design of the programme and the extent to which the Western influence has been heightened or removed.

7.3 The Renegotiation of Communities and Identities in a Globalised World

Drawing upon Foucauldian principles it would be possible to suggest that although there may be a positive exchange of power, whereby those who formerly had little voice in the global educational discourse, as a result of participation, may begin to have such a voice because they are in receipt of commodifiable knowledge or 'the appropriation of discourse, with the knowledge and the powers it carries with it' (Foucault, 1982. P.277). However, I also question what cost there might be to culture and cultural identity. During the literature review, I questioned, 'How much cultural identity is nullified in order to be assimilated into the global discourse and does entry into this discourse earn greater agency or autonomy in a globalised education market? Does it open up opportunities to undermine or thwart a prevailing Western narrative and give rise to a more diversified discourse as a result of such habitus having been secured or is it merely a diversionary tactic whereby those in ultimate power manages to 'stultify' the wider world?' Unfortunately (albeit unsurprisingly), this is not a question that I have managed to answer. However, it is a question that I believe needs to be asked and asked repeatedly and often in order to consider its ramifications. I spent one month in Uganda and, at various points would have given conflicting answers to this question, always acknowledging the narrow scope of my experience and the accompanying data. I am unable to identify the 'invisible' and intangible 'price to be paid' (Bauman, 2001, p.4-5) for

belonging to this global community, a quandary that undoubtedly faces all community members as we move increasingly towards globalised societies, I believed my interpretations and experiences suggested that for the participants that I engaged with, at this time, in the short term at least, the price is not too steep for the programme to be considered both positive and worthwhile.

I have at times resisted this conclusion, wanting to repel dominant ideologies that I know I am influenced by, but, as is displayed throughout the autoethnographic reflections on my interviews with local teachers and these interviews themselves, those asked to comment uniformly agreed that their participation enhanced their teaching practice. Rather than over-analysing these responses as being biased towards me, although the possibility was rigorously considered, it is critical to adopt a Rancièrian reading; if I adopt a discourse of incapacity whereby respondents are portrayed as being unable to know their own minds and views, I stultify them and reinforce a narrative of neo-colonialist power imbalance. I rather choose to believe that we discussed the merits and challenges of the programme as equals and therefore can only assume that their responses to be given in the spirit of an emancipatory discourse.

Finally, I return to the images found in my field notes towards the end of my autoethnographic text. My reflections noted: 'Change is slow, gradual and happens as a series of overlapping, unstable, irregular happenings that see us move by degrees from how things were to how things could be via infinite potential states of 'being' in between at different moments.' This is how I view this experience, one cycle in this transitional space. Bhabha (1994) would describe this as a liminal or third space, moving from where we are as former colonisers and colonised to where we imagine the future to be, as equal global educators. I am not able to posit that at some point in the future neo-colonialism will no longer exist, that inequality will one day be left behind or that the final destination of equality may ever be reached in reality, but it is the intention of such a programme to work towards this imaginary space that moves us away from the colonial past to an as yet undefined future. There are faults and lapses that can seem to slide backwards towards colonialist thinking, discourses of incapacity (Anwaruddin, 2014) or single stories of well-meaning pity (Adichie, 2016), but it is entering into the contact zone (Ashcroft, 2009, p.108). that enables us to start to glimpse and maybe, at times, 'dwell in the beyond' and 'return to the present to redescribe our cultural contemporaneity' (Bhabha, 2013, p.108). This is how we might achieve the renegotiation of our communities and identities in a globalised world.

7.4 Final Remarks

This thesis has demonstrated the tensions that characterise work when Western educators deliver CPD in a non-Western context. These have included experiencing cultural dissonance, post-colonial and neo-colonial dis-ease and the conflict embodied through globalisation both as a force for educational progress, development and modernisation, whilst simultaneously propagating a Westernised monoculture that maligns national and local diversity.

The experience of teachers participating in such programmes is clearly very individual, personal and nuanced and I have resisted the impulse of making sweeping generalisations about experiences other than my own, although I have used evidence gathered to consider how my interpretations of others' experiences has shaped my own understanding.

I have found the participation in this programme to be profoundly challenging and it has caused me to question the place of its existence at many intervals; prior to joining, whilst participating and afterwards. However, it is my conclusion that the programme is not without benefit, primarily because it strives towards an emancipatory approach rather than a model of explication that seeks to stultify. There are clear dangers in a programme that prioritises knowledge from one culture over another, but, inversely, knowledge that belongs to a discourse of professional practice should not be restricted by locational or cultural borders.

Adopting Bhabha's theory of hybridity and reification, I have suggested that the professional contact zone of a programme such as this has the potential to break down binaries; binaries of the coloniser and the colonised, the knowing and the ignorant, the modern and that which is otherwise to modernity. However, whilst these binaries are to some extent disassembled by creating communities of practice, they are simultaneously upheld by the distinction between that which is considered effective (which has become synonymous with what has been globalised) and that which is considered in need of improvement (which, in my experience, has been constructed as Other).

To participate in these programmes can neither be described as consistently dwelling in the beyond of culture and an emancipatory act, nor is it to persistently contribute to a discourse of incapacity and to explicate or stultify, but it is, at different junctures and times, to do both. The opportunities for contact, working together, developing communities and breaking down binaries emerges as the prolonged positive impact. However, a hierarchy free dialogic model of educational practice in an increasingly globalised world is too idealistic to be achieved.

Hierarchies do undoubtedly exist and that hierarchy is perpetuated by this programme, but it is only by verifying our mutual engagement and participation in the dialogue surrounding education that we become active in a discourse at a global level. Without a voice in this global discourse, no attempt to question, challenge or even contribute to it can ever be made.

There have been a great many criticisms of the practice of voluntourism, a trend whereby predominately Western young people participate in forms of international travel to typically Othered locations and volunteer their time to work in contexts such as orphanages, working with refugees or victims of crime (Friedus, 2017). There is legitimate criticism of this sort of practice and the negative ramifications this can cause (Ahmed et al. 2017, Webber 2017, Jakubiak 2016), but that is not what this programme represents. This programme does not involve unqualified volunteers working with vulnerable people in the short term, but rather it aims to facilitate professional development between mutually qualified and experienced individuals who are engaged in a community of practice in order to share expertise that has a lasting impact and that can be built on independently after the period of volunteer intervention has long ended.

That is not to suggest that there has been no difficulty in evaluating the programme and its potential; there is no doubt that the hierarchies at play problematise its existence. However, if this programme and others like it are denounced as purely reinforcing colonial ideals, we do little more than to further patronise participants and assume their inability to judge the worth of their own participation in the programme. There has been no shortage of moments of discord; both within the programme and as a result of the context in which it takes place and not all experienced are reflected upon and represented within this thesis. I have intentionally excluded moments where cultural dissonance was experienced as a result of differing interpretations of gender roles, inequality of resources and wealth, social care and religious understanding (amongst other examples) because these moments did not speak directly to the research focus of this thesis and there simply was not sufficient word count to explore all, but the impact and understanding of such differing cultures cannot be overstated.

Maintaining a tight focus on the experience of participating in teacher-led CPD only afforded me the opportunity to consider whether this programme had the potential to be interpreted as anything other than neo-colonialism and I have concluded that it does, but that is not to suggest that it or its participants represented and embodied that potential at all times. There were many moments of contention and I have identified numerous ways in which this process

could be improved; primarily through greater attempts to establish dialogic practice between the participants and the organisation itself, but there are signs that engagement in and reflection upon the strengths and areas for development in such programmes, greater strides will be made towards positive practices in the future. This is a key implication for further study and application of work of this nature.

At the end of this process, having participated in the programme and clarified the positive and negative implications, I have become acutely aware of how my own practice is influenced within a nuanced Westernised narrative of what makes effective education, teaching and learning. I have routinely questioned throughout my own education, my academic study and my years as a classroom practitioner the assumptions that there are rigid structures that inform the way we teach and expect our students to learn. The undertaking of this thesis has yet further emphasised that there can be no 'one size fits all' model of education; be that on a micro-scale for each individual student or a macro-scale across entire cultures. However, it is through establishing far-ranging and diverse communities of practice, willing to develop and share their experiences, that all teachers and educators are able to illustrate what has worked for them and enable others to select, experiment and deselect effective pedagogical tools for their own contexts and practices.

For others considering embarking upon participation in a similar peer-led professional development programme, this thesis evidences the inevitable apprehensions of entering a different culture and context as an outsider, especially when engaged in an attempt to share and disseminate knowledge that can be seen to justify a position of unequal power and knowledge. It has been critical for me to embrace those apprehensions and to highlight the tensions that arose as a result in order to explore whether such a programme can have a positive impact on participants. This is something that all people in such a position must do because if there is not a positive impact, if the instances of power imbalance serve only to stultify and to reinforce discourses of incapacity, then it must be concluded that such a programme should not take place.

One of the most difficult obstacles to overcome throughout this process was to avoid the over analysis of the data provided by O/others. It is too easy to assume that an imbalance of power taints the views and responses given, but this tendency stems from well-meaning pity (Adichie 2016) and reinforces discourses of incapacity (Anwaruddin, 2014). A significant evolution in transitioning away from colonialism and toward decolonisation is to achieve an affirmation of

capacity and to perceive all members of a global community as equals, not just within our outward speech, but in internal thoughts and subconscious actions. When conditioned by historic literature and by the modern media, (Mheta, 2015) to imagine the others as Others, as deprived, malnourished, weak and incapable, it is a challenge to overcome such perceptions and the ways in which they operate at both a conscious and subconscious level. Being in Uganda helped me to achieve this in the first instance. The students and teachers that I met were not the caricatures of the media, but equals. In addition, the layering of data collected with theory and reflexivity enabled me to highlight those more subliminal moments where I had not realised the influence within my analysis as obvious. It is this realisation that needs to enter the consciousness of the global community at large in order to move yet further towards the ideal of decolonisation. Whilst neither the methods, methodology nor analysis of data produced over the course of this thesis should be over-generalised, it is possible to glean insights that will be of relevance to similar projects.

There has also been an ongoing process of working towards becoming ethical throughout the study. It has been valuable to note this process and the way in which ethical practice cannot be treated as a mere seeking of approval or establishing consent in the early stages of planning and data collection, but is rather a continual series of checks and self-regulation that has been integral to the successful completion of this project. Ethics permeate this thesis. I was continually troubled ethically throughout the construction of this piece and I would hope that it has become clear that without experiencing and reflecting on such ethical dilemmas, I would not have felt comfortable in presenting this work. Whilst it was with ease that the professional frameworks could be negotiated, it was a constant concern to ensure that issues of representation, fairness, reflection and voice be considered. This has been an area of immense personal growth and whilst I would not presume to have perfected an ethical approach, I have consistently worked towards that ideal and it is my intention to fully embrace this process in future studies and would urge others to do likewise.

The limitations of this study could be perceived as the singularity of experience that it focuses on and the lack of Othered voices represented here, though the rationale of this has been explored; as previously stated, I felt that it was not for me to attempt to represent voices that were not my own. Additionally, the length of the data collection window; further time and opportunity to carry out research would have been beneficial, but this was not possible as the schedule was dictated by the organisation's fellowship programme duration.

The use of images in the ways outlined within this thesis have been integral to developing an alternative methodology within my own practice. Applying theoretical lenses to my own interpretations of visual images in order to produce an autoethnographic discussion: autoethnographic reflections is a method that has been a product of generating a 'thick description' in an alternative way; drawing on the conventions of visual ethnography, but also moving beyond this by layering other methods of interviews, reflective journal entries, sketches and artefacts. This evolution of methodology was organic, but also a conscious determination towards adopting an approach advocated by Pink (2007) whereby methods are adapted to serve the aims of the research, rather than methods and methodologies holding the research hostage to procedure. This methodology and the methods entailed have again developed my practice as a researcher substantially and I anticipate continuing to work in similar ways in future projects.

Additional important areas for further study would be to firstly explore the ramifications of adopting a globalised system of education. There is an assumption that moving towards global standards of education is best, irrespective of context or culture and further study should be undertaken on the positive and negative long-term impacts on local, national and international communities. I would also suggest that additional work should be done on the design of teacher-led CPD and any other professional development programmes of this nature to ensure that they are relevant to the contexts in which they are being delivered. This should be a collaborative process conducted in consultation with local professionals, rather than an explicatory model where assumptions are made on behalf of stultified learners.

Finally, there is also a homogenisation of professional practice that needs to be addressed; what constitutes effective pedagogy does vary not only from culture to culture, but also school to school, class to class and student to student. It cannot be assumed that all teachers from the West, nor from Africa, would agree on what that looks like for them. Further work on the underlying principles of effective practice in different contexts should continue to be undertaken in order to contribute to this shared discourse. In addition, there were further areas of interest that emerged throughout the collection and analysis of data for this study that also merit further exploration; the roles of gender, the adaptability of students, the impact of teaching on family life, the resourcefulness of provision and the perception of Westerners in Othered contexts. It has only been possible to complete this thesis and eliminate data that was interesting but irrelevant to the parameters of this paper by having confidence that no knowledge is lost, only saved for future projects.

8.o References

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9.0 Appendices

9.1 Appendix 1: Images 1a and 1b- Human Trafficking and Solicitation Notices, Entebbe Airport



1a



1b

9.2 Appendix 2: Images 2a and 2b- Accommodations for visitors:

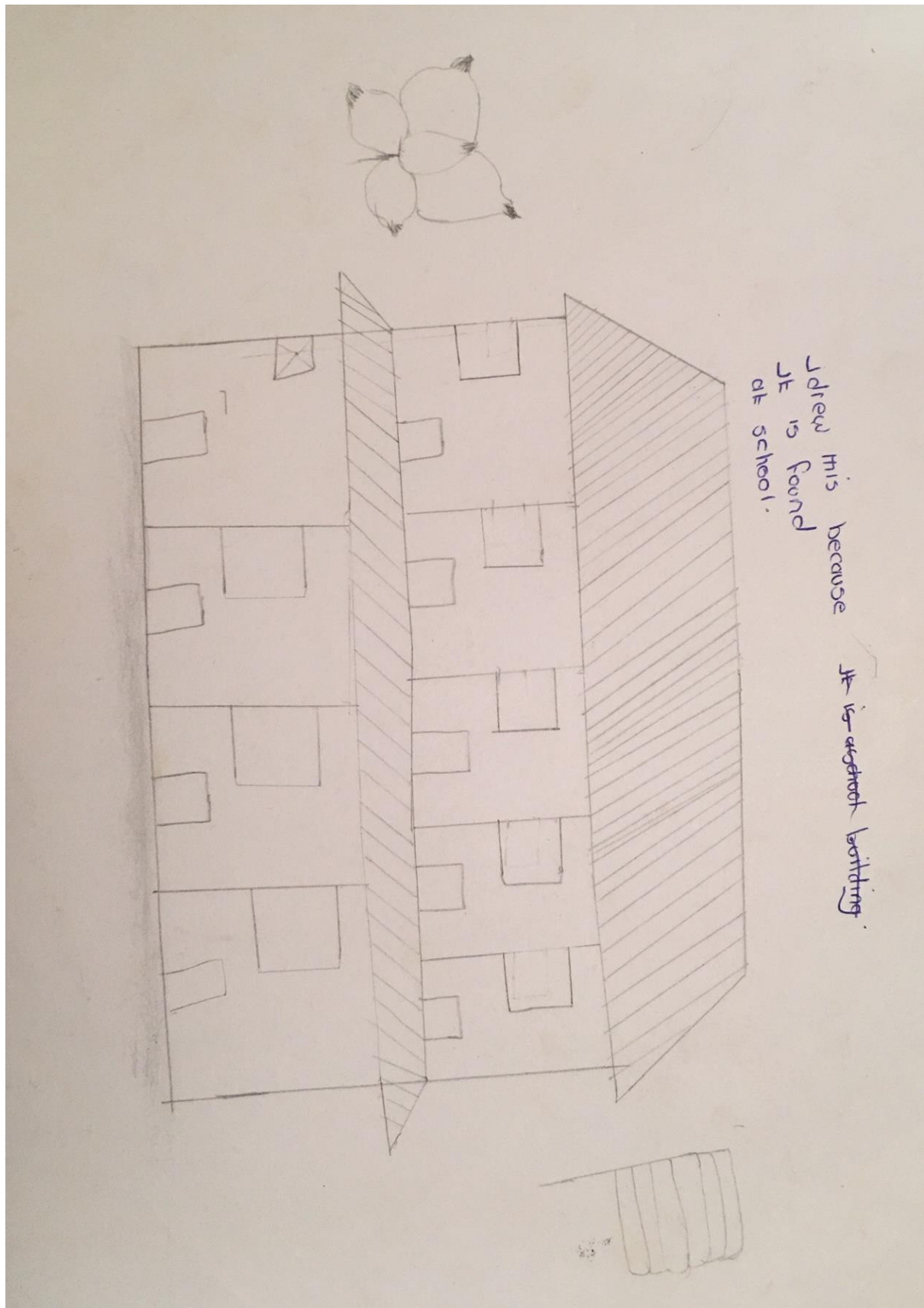
2a



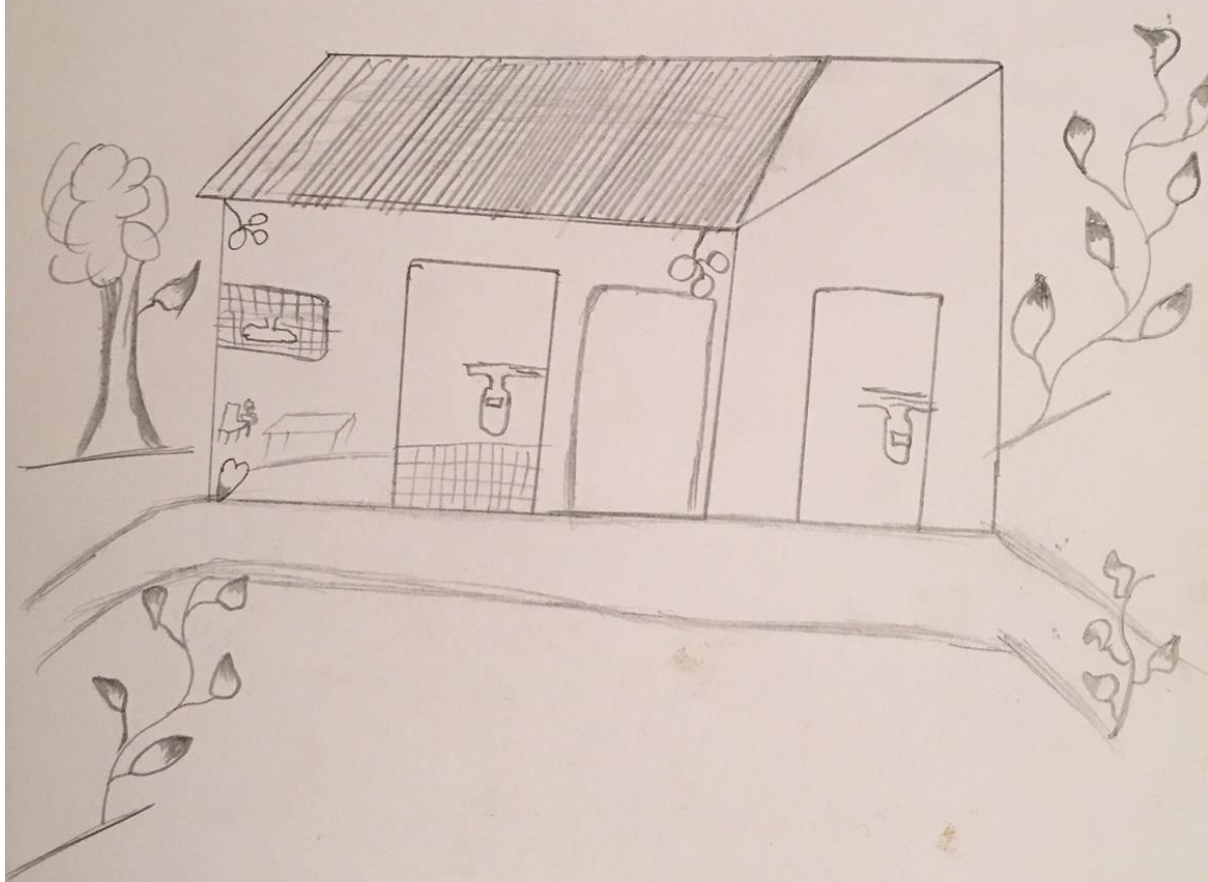
2b

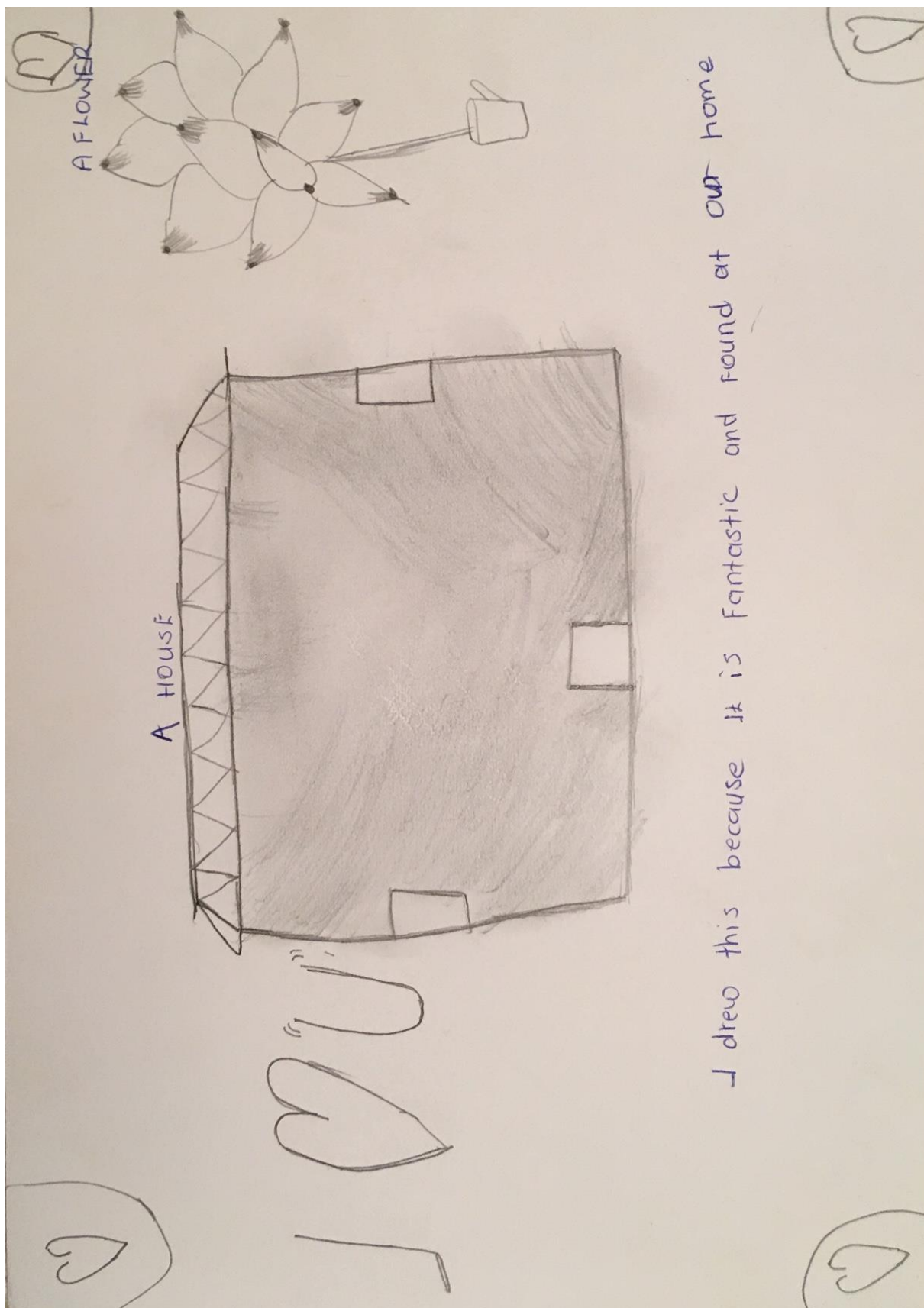


9.3 Appendix 3: Images sketched by students and accompanying notes.



I drew this because it is our school.



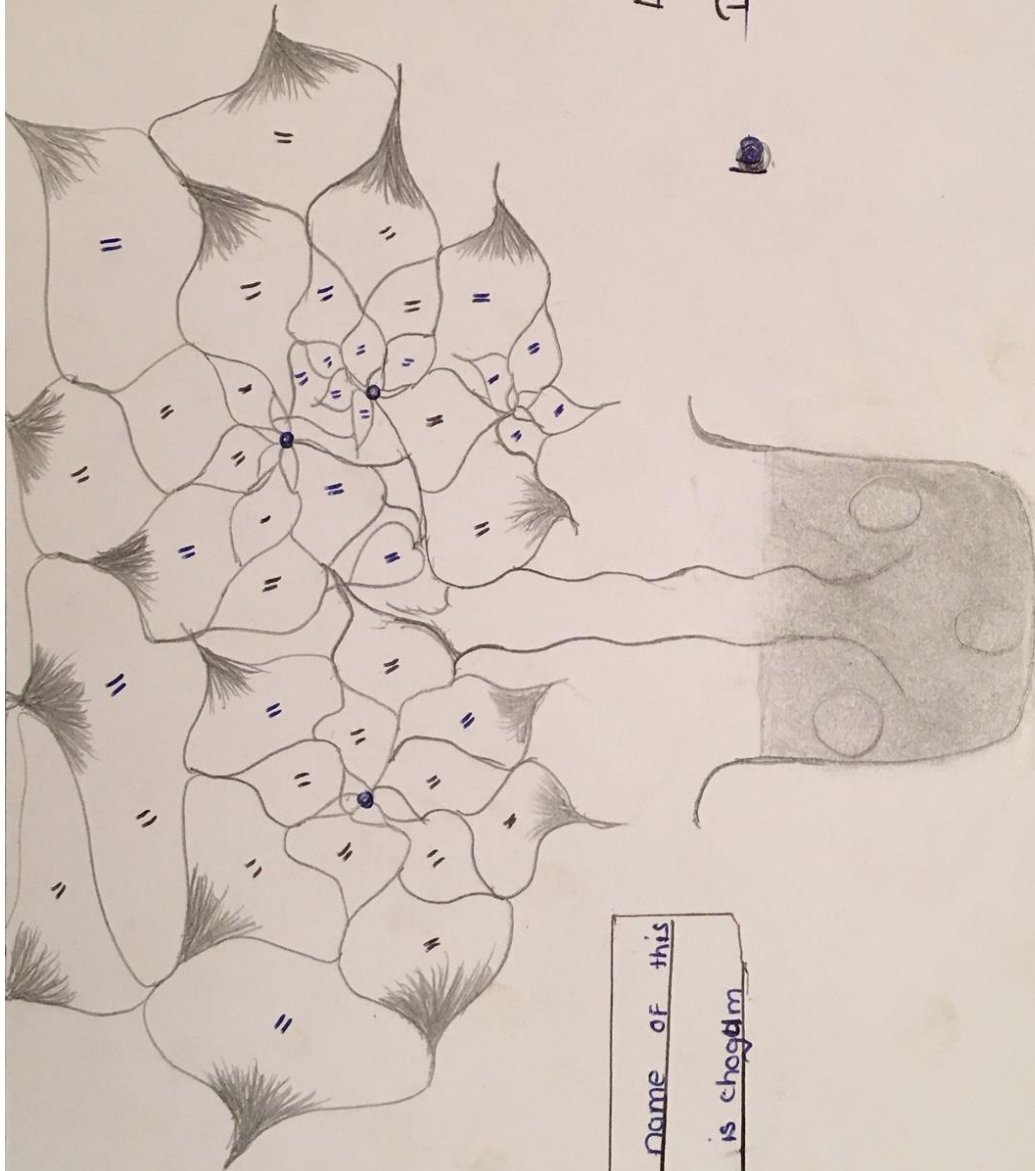


I drew this because it is fantastic and found at our home

I drew this
because is my
flower which I
have dig at
home

My name is

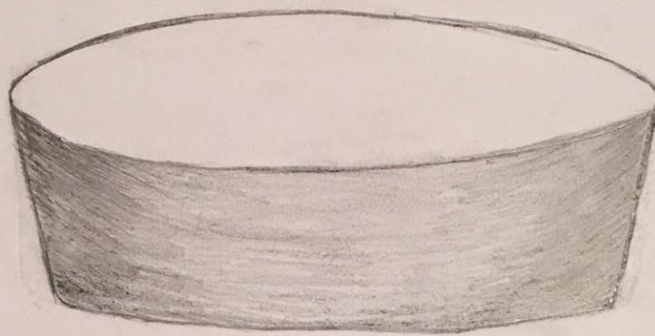
TUMUSINE HARIMAH



The name of this

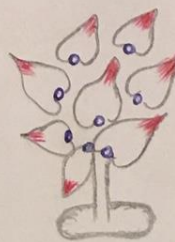
flower is chogdim

This is a basin.

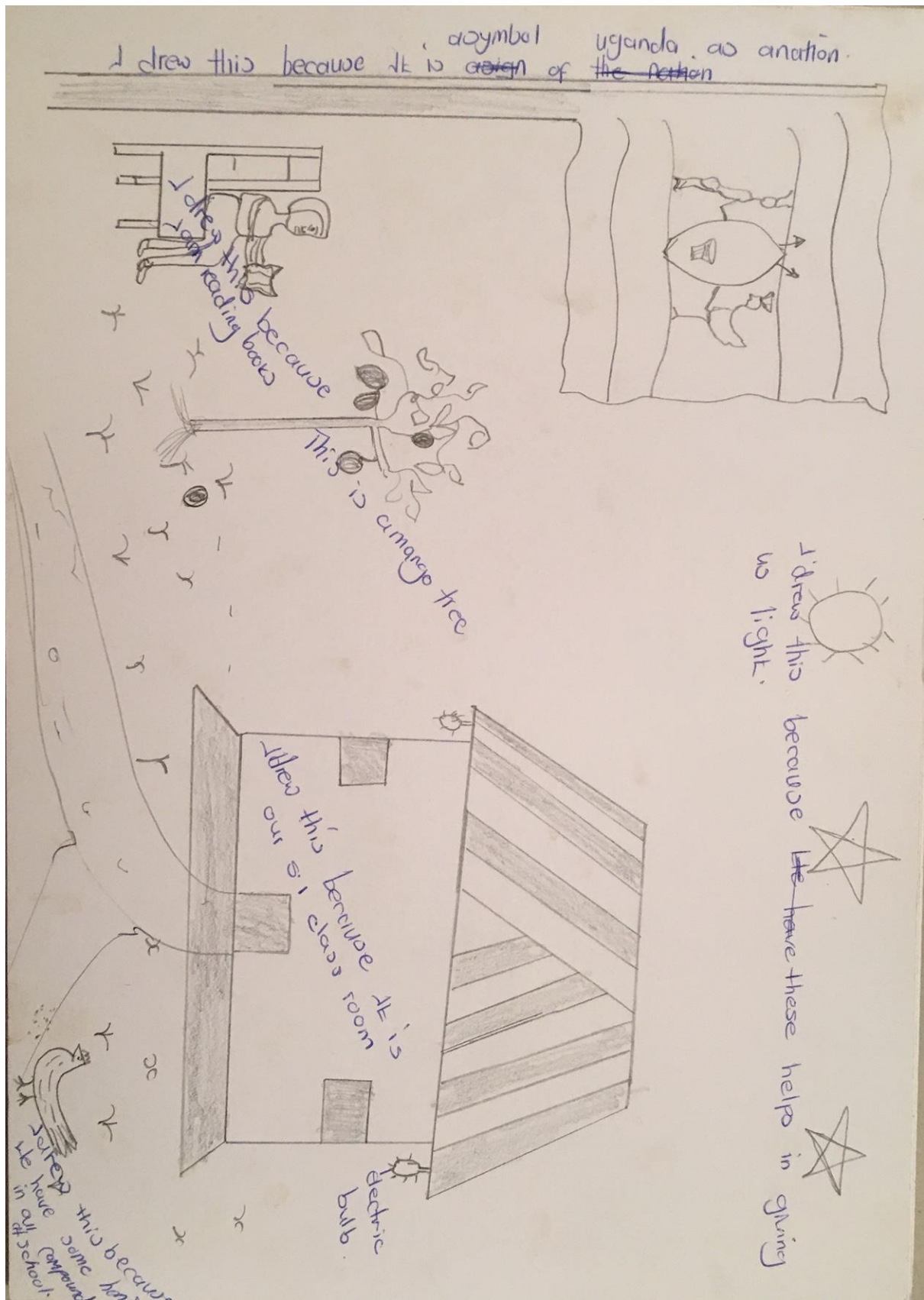


I drew this because I used it to bathing.

I drew this because it is perfect.



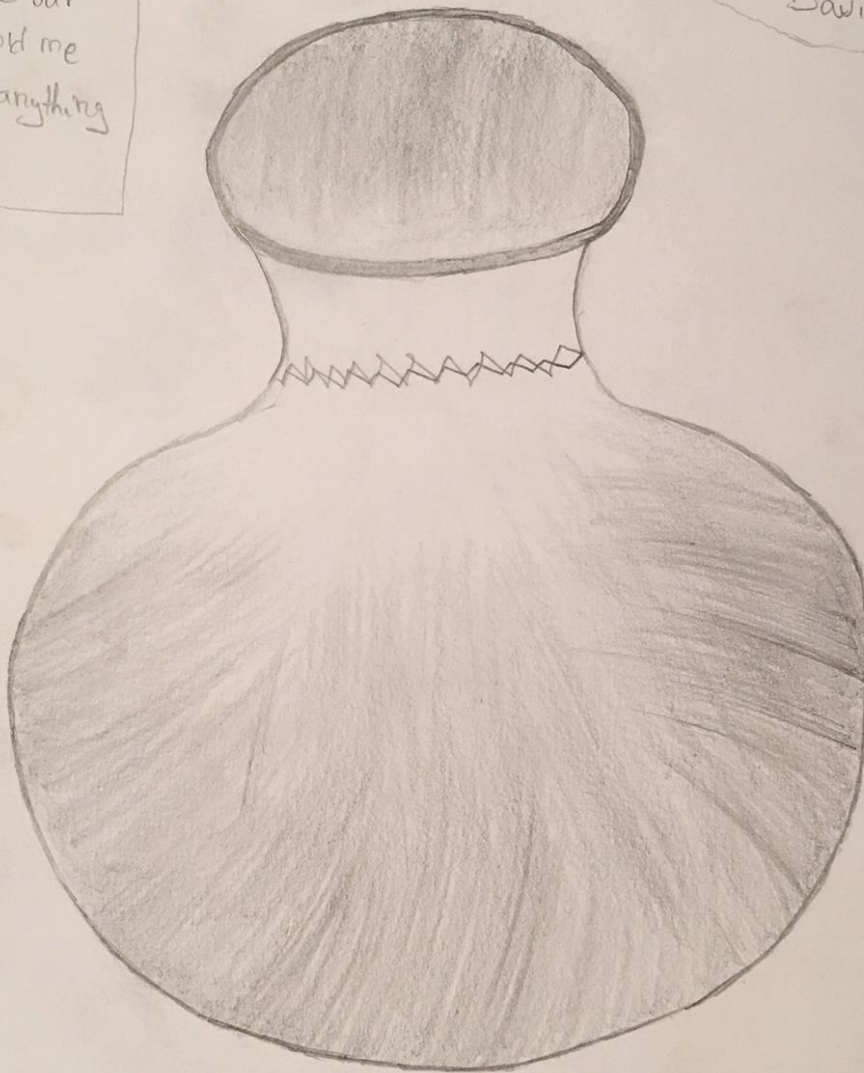
I drew this because it is in the compound.

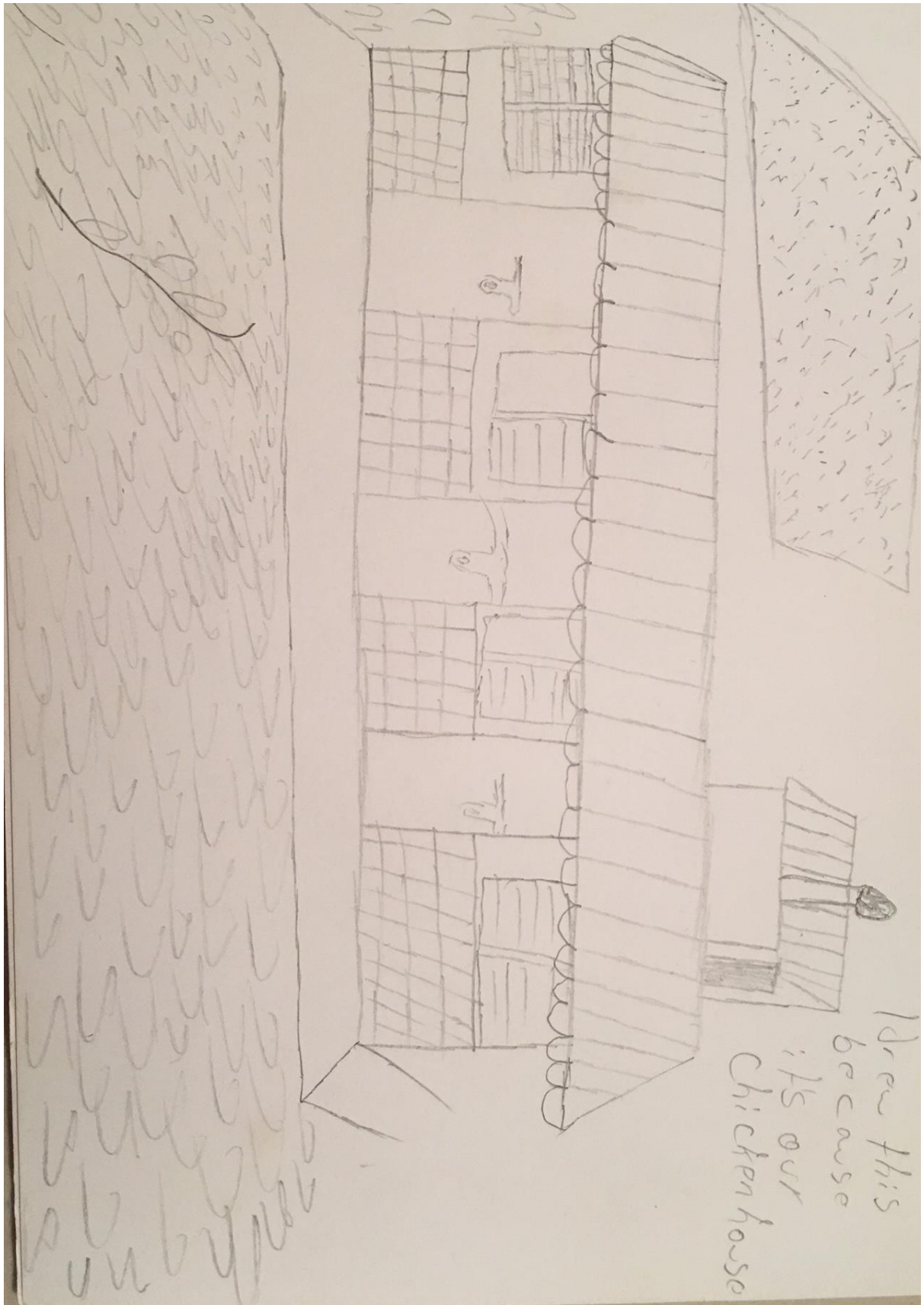


Davis

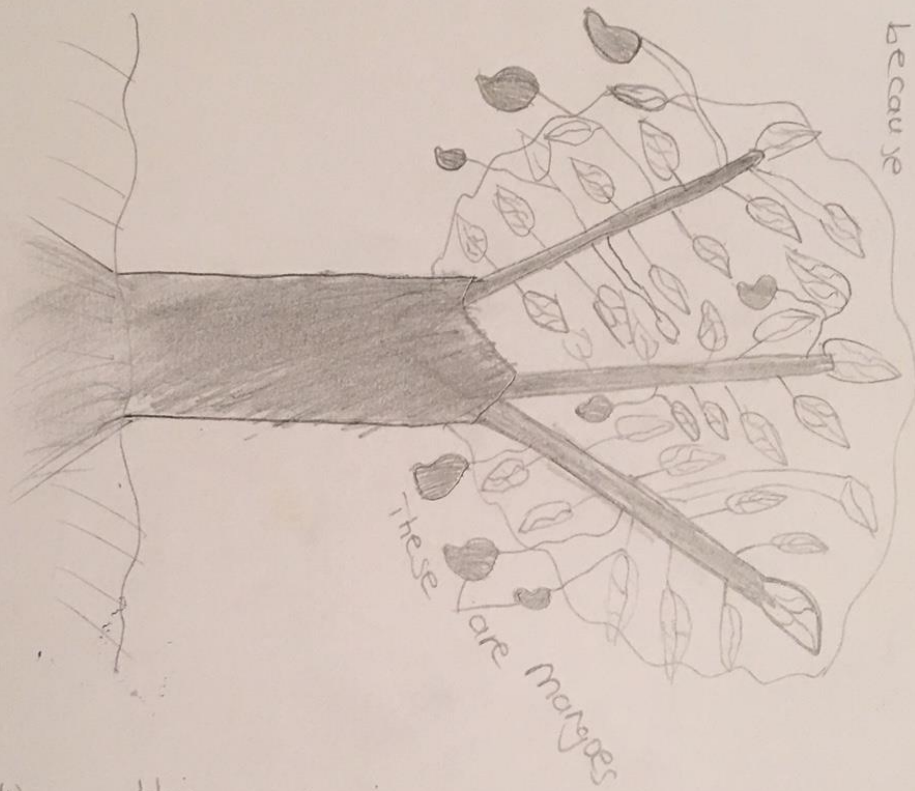
I drew this
because our
vister told me
to draw anything
I know.

This is a pot drawn by
Davis



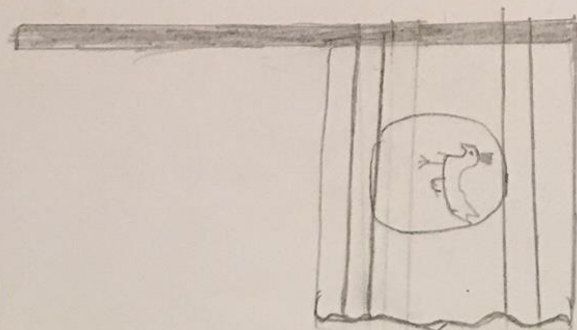


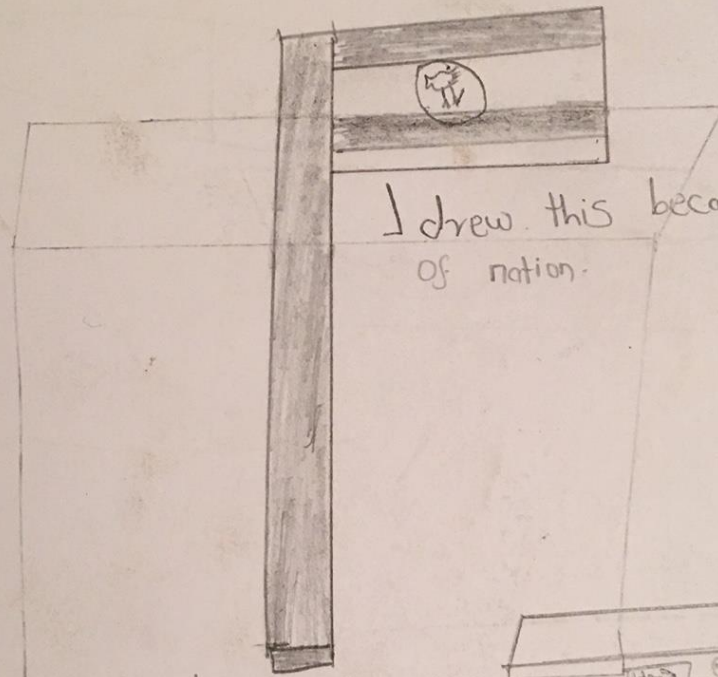
This is amango tree
 Udrew this because
 it is in our
 Compound



Udrew this it is in our Compound

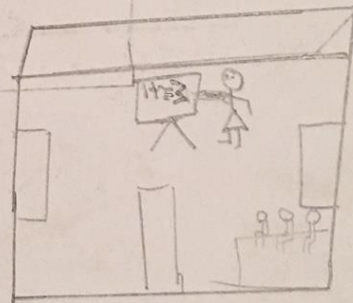
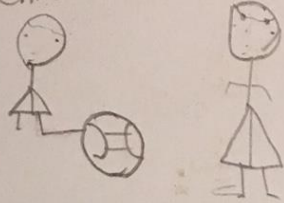
This is oflag





I drew this because it is a symbol
of nation.

I drew this because the
children is playing the football.



I drew this because it is
a class room.

I drew this because it is a school.



